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My dissertation engages with British women poets between the years 1780 and 1840, a period that saw prolonged conflict between England and France, domestic revolt, and eventually government reform. Scholarly attention to war in the long Romantic period has surged in the last decade, but sustained examinations of women as war writers have been slower. I argue that poets like Mary Robinson, Felicia Hemans, and critically overlooked Jane Alice Sargant utilized and manipulated popular formal approaches to war to make space for women, notably the forms of ballad, elegy, domestic narrative, and lyric. Female figures in their war poems are mothers, soldiers, and record-keepers who navigate different settings, or spaces, and create textual disruptions. Quotation marks, italics, and metrical variation often dramatize women's speech, and sometimes silence, which at once critiques sociopolitical expectations that separate women from war and suggests that women remain vocal participants during war. To establish Romantic-era practices for reflecting on war and political conflict and to reveal how issues of gender changed the landscape of war writing, I turned to periodicals, manuscripts, and first edition poetry collections by each of the three core poets, some long out of print. In the outpouring of war poetry in Romantic periodicals, the spaces of battlefield, rural home, graveyard, and ocean become central. Thus, Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant – along with other periodical poets and contemporary authors like Helen Maria Williams, William Wordsworth, and Lord Byron – returned to and revised these spaces, framing each with distinct textual disruptions.

Chapter one takes up the generic space of the ballad and the physical setting of the battlefield to argue that women's battlefield ballads revised editorial practices popular during the ballad revival that suppressed oral variants and minimized women's role in battle scenes. Instead, women's ballads fill with quoted speech from women on the battlefield and mnemonic parallelism to suggest the possibility of women's speeches being committed to memory, even passed down orally like the ballad itself. The second chapter turns to the battlefield's supposed opposite, the home. In describing the rural English home, however, women created a domestic narrative that explicitly reveals the home's closeness to the battlefield, which I term a "home-front poem" because of its blend of rural and militant language. Similarly, I term the reader-focused elegies in chapter three "wartime elegies." Women poets in this genre call out to readers, asking them to closely read and even write monuments or headstones for fallen soldiers by repeating locative words, direct address, and subverting common elegiac personifications that might allow consolation instead of continued acts of mourning. The fourth chapter also considers the continued effects of prolonged war and loss by taking up the figure of the wanderer in women's war lyrics. Here space becomes marginal, liminal, as first-person female speakers cross oceans or pace seashores to convey the precarious position women inhabit when engaging with war.

Throughout the chapters, I analyze subtle manipulations of the printed page, such as pairing opposing poems on the same page, relying on mnemonic devices as if print were tenuous, shifting from ballad quatrains to couplets mid-poem, and using military terms to describe rural domestic scenes. These and other textual disruptions briefly return

readers not only to an awareness of the printed page, but to gendered expectations of wartime participation and writing. Along the way, then, my project places Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant in war-torn cultural concepts of gender and authorship that their poetry helps reveal and reshape throughout the Romantic period.

STAKING OUT SPACE: BRITISH WOMEN'S WAR POETRY

1780-1840

by

Emily J. Dolive

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_____
Committee Chair

DEDICATED TO:

Wayne Bruce Dolive

“Papa Wayne”

Poet and Marine

“The boy stood on the burning deck”

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation written by Emily J. Dolive has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Felicia Hemans celebrated the British Army's first successful raid against Napoleon in Spain in an 1808 letter that also provides a starting point for this dissertation's understanding of spaces: "though females are forbidden to interfere in politics, yet as I have a dear, dear brother, at present on the scene of action, I may be allowed to feel some ardour on the occasion."[1] Hemans recognized, at age fifteen, the expected separation of women from the "scene" or space of politics. At the same time, she negotiated her "interference" in and "ardour" for the Napoleonic Wars by citing her relationship with her brother George and her avid reading of military "intelligence" in the "papers." In other words, this letter reveals Hemans's awareness of the "scene[s]" or spaces in which she was "forbidden" – like battlefield or government – and suggests that her entry into, as she says, "the theatre of glory" and political debate was through the page, a second space. Indeed, Hemans mentions the recent publication of her poem *England and Spain; or Valour and Patriotism* (1808), which seems inspired in part by the "papers" she constantly "perused" and impatiently waited for as she composed this letter to her Aunt. In addition to the spaces of battlefield and page as extrapolated from this letter is a new picture of the so-called poet of domesticity or "the creature of hearth and home," as termed by her early biographer. Hemans's language of "glorious," "the cause," "gallant," and "true heroism" is at odds with the midcentury celebration of her as

"intensely feminine [with] delicacy [and] softness" and her patriotic language is rarely scrutinized in scholarship today, which leads me to read her as a war poet throughout the following chapters.[2] In each chapter, I take a cue from Hemans's letter as I question how Romantic women used different genres of poetry, from the ballad to the lyric, as a space in which to "interfere" with war. My answer is that women poets manipulated expected tropes and structures of each genres – often with juxtapositions of bodies and language – as their female figures encountered obstacles to or proposed strategies for engaging with battle, death, and sociopolitical tension.

To examine how Romantic women poets situated female figures within wartime settings and themes, I went to the daily "papers" Hemans was infatuated with in the 1808 letter. While many periodicals such as *The European Magazine* (1782-1826), *The Poetical Register* (1802-1814, and *The Examiner* (1808-1881) have been digitized, I am also indebted to the Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina for allowing me access to early nineteenth-century clippings and broadsides, such as a series of "Loyal Songs" and "Ring the Alarum Bell!" (1803). These Romantic-era periodicals not only revealed war texts by Hemans that reviewers and scholars alike have overlooked – such as "Effigies" (1823) and "The Illuminated City" (1826) – but also revealed verses from countless men and women that celebrate or criticize the Parliamentary reports in the surrounding pages.[3] Voices from average British subjects merge with those of professional authors and even legislators and noblemen in these pages, which creates a fertile source for tracing common strategies for navigating political conflict in a period that saw twenty-two years of war followed by an economic slump and fights for reform.[4]

Moreover, some periodical poems soon made their way into edited collections and even into anthologies today, such as Charlotte Smith's first iteration of what would later be *The Emigrants* ("The Female Exile" of 1792) and Amelia Opie's "Lines Written at Norwich on the First News of Peace" (1802). The move from periodical to book often suggests continued interest in wartime themes and the collections, especially first editions, may shed light on a poet's practices for collecting, revising, and organizing their work. Central to this dissertation is Mary Robinson and her 1791 *Poems,* which contains a long series of battlefield ballads as well as reflective lyrics about Britain, France, and "me." In a previously unexamined connection, Robinson is an important predecessor to Hemans's war poetry, which was typically seen first in periodicals. Robinson, too, peppered her Della Cruscan submissions to the *Morning Post* with ballads that narrate military maneuvers and lyrics about leaving Britain for France.[5] Between the proliferation of periodical war verses and their reappearance in collections like Robinson's *Poems* (1791) and Hemans's *Records of Woman* (1828), the Romantic approach to war and war writing was constantly being renegotiated, often by women who were theoretically "forbidden" from direct participation in war and politics.

This dissertation is also indebted to Betty T. Bennett's collection *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism: 1793-1815,* which published and annotated 400 of approximately 3,000 war poems recovered from Romantic periodicals like those mentioned above. Bennett's control group of 400 and my own collection of comparable poems by women both before and after the war years led me to define war poetry as texts that incorporate battle or soldiers or political policy and events. Even after 1815, when

Napoleon was finally stopped by Wellington, poets continued to write about war with strategies similar to those used during periods of conflict. Poems included in Bennett's anthology sing Britain's praises, lampoon politicians, and contrast deaths of men on the battlefield with that of women at home. For snapshots of immediate war and war writing, the anthology offers us occasion poems like "On a Late Victory At Sea" (1794), signed T.O. British victories were lauded at length in songs and memorials, as in one "Ode" of the same year that asserts "How brave their deeds, how blest their fate, / Who vanquish even in death" (68-69); however, the poet T.O. personifies a nightmarish "Death" who rides alongside sailors on "blood-ting'd waves" (21, 41). Instead of reiterating the importance of glory and laurel wreaths as many patriotic songs do, this poem turns to materialize "parents, brothers, wives" left disenfranchised by war and loss (46). Hemans and Robinson's war poems often strike balance between glory and criticism but rely more heavily on subtle yet integral elements like stanzaic structure, contrasting dialogue, and repeated long dashes or italics to highlight the needs and actions of the living left behind by war, a focus that may define women's wartime service in the period.

Bennett's anthology is also a guide for examining later recollections and retellings of war, as she notes which poems were reprinted in the period and includes a handful of poems on similar topics. Texts like "The Widow" (1795) and "Thomas and Kitty" (1796) document the emotional and physical destruction women undergo during war. In these tales, Nancy and Kitty both learn of their widowhood and subsequently die, with Kitty on the battlefield. Each female figure's "bosom" or "breast" becomes "cold" as their husband-soldier dies (20, 5); Kitty and her "little fondling at her breast" are further

whipped by "winds so chill" and "Drench'd with the rain" (5, 53, 75). Deftly discussed by Mary Favret, this common and pathetic scene was a means of embodying, and perhaps criticizing, Britain's prolonged involvement in the wars across the Channel. However, Mary Robinson, whose war poems also appear in Bennett's anthology, replaces this familiar female figure in a domestic cottage, albeit alone, and continues to dramatize women's closeness to war by describing a countryside setting with military language in "The Widow's Home." Similarly, poems from Charlotte Smith and Anna Seward that also appear in Bennett's anthology prefigure Hemans's peering into the female mind during war. In particular, Seward's "Lines, after Reading Southey's 'Joan of Arc'" (1797) castigates the French Revolution while ignoring Joan's participation in war. Hemans's later "Joan of Arc, in Rheims" (1826) incorporates Joan's conflicting desires for a secluded home as well as military pomp. While Bennett's anthology has been cited and utilized by Favret, Stephen Behrendt, Stuart Curran, and recent essays in the *Keats-Shelley Journal* and *Studies in Romanticism*, my study makes more extensive use of the full range of Bennett's poems than most.[6] The discussion of genre in each chapter below provides examples from Bennett's work to reveal that women closely attended to the changing landscape of periodical war poems and military "intelligence." These periodical sources – for myself and for many women poets – enhance our understanding of the diverse strategies, characters, and expectations for either supporting or criticizing war in the Romantic period. In fact, I argue that women's war poetry before, during, and after the war years filled with textual manipulations like shifting stanzaic structures and

intertextuality that help depict female figures as they become soldiers or record-keepers during periods of war.

It can also be argued that generic experimentation and political conflicts are two tenets that underpin the Romantic period, both handled deftly and diversely by women poets. Yet with prolonged political conflict came renewed restrictions on genre and publishing. Adriana Craciun describes a "reactionary backlash" in the literary marketplace that "sought to reinforce hierarchies" of genre and gender (155). Stephen Behrendt, too, notes that a conception of separate genres for men and women grew out of "a literary marketplace increasingly dominated in the nineteenth century by a male…establishment" (17). Much of the resistance to radical discourse and to women writing about war is seen near the end of and following the French Revolution, suggesting a societal push towards conservatism that gained ground by the time the British Army clashed with Napoleon. As Behrendt further explains, during the 1790s "a more reactionary cultural establishment…began to erect new barriers to prevent women from contributing to the public discourse and to resuscitate some of the old ones" (40). Moreover, censorship and suspensions of Habeas Corpus continued in Britain in the years after the victory and close of the Napoleonic Wars at Waterloo, strengthening social and literary expectations. The politics of publication slowly relapsed into an older, largely moralizing view of women's literary production, seen in the midcentury reviews that gloss over Hemans's interest in battle and instead focus on her "feminine," "pious," and "moral" effect on readers. The expectations of publishing women seem linked to the popular symbol of Britain or Britannia as a woman, even a mother, who nurtures and

guides the nation through her virtue. A 1799 review of Mary Robinson's "The False Friend," for instance, cautions the poet to "be very careful that nothing flows from their pen which may injure the morals of society." It was not that women were banned from publishing on the subject of war, but that particular approaches like histories and domestic tales were more proper and prescribed generic spaces from which women could examine war and nurture the nation. For women to compose vivid battle scenes and critical or prophetic songs, was to risk the fate of works like Anna Laetitia Barbauld's infamous *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*.[7] Still, Hemans, Robinson, and critically overlooked poet Jane Alice Sargant – the three core poets examined in each chapter – contributed to or countered dominant gendered ideologies by manipulating expected features of genres commonly used to contemplate war. To retell war with women as active and often vocal participations, poets disrupted common textual tactics like ballad meter, consolations of heaven or glory, and direct address, sometimes in texts written long after threats of invasion or censorship had vanished.

Few studies aside from Philip Shaw's work have considered the pervasiveness of war in Romantic literature long after Waterloo. In his edited collection *Romantic Wars*, Shaw observes Romantic scholarship's silences surrounding war writing as well as the absence in the period of quotidian accounts of wartime suffering. The difficulty in finding much Romantic censure of the lengthy wars and their aftermath, Shaw claims, is because of the successful conclusion of the wars and the immediate relief and celebration in Britain, which left little room for authors to propose critical alternatives to war or to disentangle literary production from the military vogue. Similarly, Simon Bainbridge

argues in *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* that Britain's post-war obsession with military glory and reform (or with resisting reform) helped poets dramatize and subtly critique conventional gender roles found on the battlefield and in literary criticism of the period as exampled above. Examining post-Waterloo texts from Hemans, Byron, Hunt, and even Wordsworth, Shaw and Bainbridge argue that the end of and relief from war produced important tensions in identity politics, from the public citizen to the protected housewife, and in genre politics as favorite forms like the sonnet and the pastoral strived with bellicose epic and chivalric romances for publication space. The scope of my study, beginning in the decade before Britain engaged in physical conflict with France until well into the nineteenth century, allows me to locate and trace a lineage for women's ongoing literary interventions in war writing and political debate. The attention to Romantic war writing has surged since Shaw and Bainbridge's work, but sustained examinations of women as war writers have been slower. As post-Waterloo poets returned to tropes and genres made popular during earlier threats of invasion or celebrations of British victories, they build upon strategies found in the 1790s – such as dialogue, juxtaposition, and exiled figures – to insert women in political debates or to place them on battlefields. When we open our critical purview to women's war poetry of the entire Romantic period, patterns and revisions of form and topic emerge that appear to subtly combat gendered expectations of war participation and war writing.

More critical attention has been given, reasonably, to literature written directly under threats of French invasion or in reaction to Napoleon's character and campaigns. Mary Favret famously argued in "Coming Home: The Public Spaces of Romantic War"

that war poetry erases bodies of male soldiers, particularly wounded bodies, in order to avoid weakened representations of nationhood. In their place are bodies of women – either distraught ingenues or ailing mothers with children – that symbolize Britain's reasons for going to war. After citing Mary Robinson's "The Widow's Home" and Wordsworth's "The Female Vagrant," Favret quotes at length the anonymous 1795 poem "The Widow," in which "Nancy's constant bosom" undergoes the same death sequence as her beloved William on battle plains out of the poem's view: she "dropp'd" tears, "bow'd and died" (153-54). Nancy's body replaces the soldier's and obscures his wounds both given and received. Characters like Nancy – seen throughout Bennett's anthology – soon become a favorite wartime trope that at once masked the horrors of war and undermined war's publicized goal to protect the domestic sphere.

Earlier in the eighteenth century, however, women were among the foremost producers of martial and political elegies. Before Britain was embroiled in war with France, poets celebrated figures like King James II, Captain Cook, and Major André for their courage and used them to exemplify promises and complications of war or imperialism. Stuart Curran claims that in Anna Seward's *Elegy on Captain Cook* (1780) and *Monody on Major André* (1781) "the person being memorialized is secondary to social and political concerns" (239). Seward and others incorporated warlike language and political events into their texts, practices that Romantic descendants – caught in a marketplace that reinforced gender roles – returned to and revised by subtly denoting sociopolitical concerns through typography or exiled characters. Anne K. Mellor further articulates the development from eighteenth-century to Romantic political elegies as

"denounc[ing] the *causes* of their death, rather than the courageous *manner* of their dying" (458). Again, in these developments we can observe Romantic poets moving away from bodies and closer to the page that so intrigued a young Hemans. Practices like denial, questioning, and direct address – which can be found in women's World War I poetry as well – help poets critique causes for war and propose options for coping with war.[8] Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant often utilize voice – in quoted speech, intertextuality, and record-making – to dramatize the incorporation of women into war scenes and debates. What this study adds to the work of Shaw and Favret lies in cataloguing tactics for writing war and highlighting why and how war remained a useful theme for women.

Still, war is regularly a secondary point in Romantic scholarship. For instance, Samuel Baker's compelling examination of maritime imagery in Romantic poetry uses events like the British Navy's mutinies and Nelson's iconic status after Trafalgar to frame burgeoning conceptions of culture, but such events are not always applied to the poems. Instead, in Baker's view, poems use wanderers and vast oceans to imagine political utopias and teach commerce. Revised pastorals like Wordsworth's "Michael" are read as seascapes "transported" into rural details like the sheepfold, which circulates and feeds audiences at different times and places (Baker 143-152). Though Baker sees Wordsworth often attempting to reconcile the pastoral mode with war and patriotism, oceans and islands are rarely discussed as tropes that contemplate or critique war as I find in the final chapter. Similarly, Stephen Behrendt's *British Women Poets and the Romantic Writing Community* argues in part that the growing political tension in the 1790s caused the

Romantic literary marketplace to tighten its demands on literary achievement and, accordingly, that women writers knowingly contended with a new set of expectations and risks. While Behrendt claims that women poets could and did engage in and advance various political positions, primarily through choosing traditionally male genres and through descriptions of "humanity" both on the battlefield and at home, I take a closer look at the strategies they chose to make women "visible," often in subtle ways, during war (114). This dissertation balances practices and changes in the Romantic literary marketplace with Romantic war in order to argue that close attention to the political and social implications of different genres and the creation of corresponding textual manipulations allowed Romantic poets to revise and reinsert women as active wartime participants.

While Stephen Behrendt has thoroughly examined the roadblocks and negotiations women encountered in the nineteenth-century literary marketplace, their specific experience with war poetry in this marketplace has not been fully investigated. There has been no sustained examination of the formal qualities, tropes, and impacts of Romantic war poetry by women. Marlon Ross and Anne Mellor have begun such close reading work in several studies, looking respectively at women's occasional poems at once sentimental, satirical, and subversive by allowing "little domestic moments" to influence political events (Ross 96). These scholars also highlight formal aspects of women's more sustained political poems which use historical events, the epistolary "I," or heroic couplets to support radical ideals (Mellor 78-80, 118). Still, much of the work on Romantic women's war poetry deals with "women poets' *perspective* on war and…the

circumstances of their authorship and publication" (Behrendt 16, emphasis added). I am interested in making this focus even more specific so that we can foreground the poetic tools and revised tropes that women like Robinson and Hemans used during two different periods. My close examination of formal qualities and generic spaces couples well with current work on women's wartime perspectives by revealing how these perspectives were advanced and undermined. This means I look closely at genre, rhyme, meter, punctuation, and revisions when possible, in addition to larger perspectives conveyed through images, repeated phrases, and settings. In short, my dissertation returns our attention to textual materialism, which has been left out of much previous scholarship on women and war, so we can get beyond perspectives and into process.[9]

My dissertation seeks to uncover and categorize the subtle textual techniques Romantic-era women used in their poetry to take a political stance or to contemplate women's varied roles during war. Published during and in the immediate aftermath of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, the poems I examine are filled with textual disruptions from shifting or fragmenting meter and rhyme mid-poem to juxtaposing the language and bodies of men and women to repeated typographical details like quotation, italics, and long dashes. When the structural space of a poem is manipulated in these ways, readers may reconsider the contested, typically gendered spaces of battlefield and home front, ballad and elegy. For instance, Robinson abruptly halts the ballad meter in the closing quatrains of "Sir Raymond of the Castle, a Ballad" (1791) where the damsel-in-distress, Ella, finally speaks. Ella reflects on the importance of wartime negotiation, denoting her attention to the earlier battle and dialogue between the male characters that

was initially recorded in her physical features, like tears and pale cheeks, rather than her language. The poem's only use of italics in the midst of metrical variation emphasizes Ella's speech, her confession to altering the battle's outcome from behind the castle walls.

Certainly editors and printers intervene and may alter a poet's original intentions for layout and typography, but because Robinson's single line of italics – much like Hemans's italics and extra indentations – appear in original and later printings, we know Romantic readers would have experienced these textual juxtapositions and typographical changes. It also seems probable that women poets attended to such details of print in the same way they might consider meter, diction, and symbol. Moreover, I work with archival materials from the Wilson Library, Harvard's Houghton Library, and the British Library to support my claims about print manipulations as viable tactics for reinserting women onto the wartime page. Hemans's frequent italics throughout her oeuvre is confirmed by her use of underlining in manuscripts like that of *The Siege of Valencia* held at Harvard. Other materials like Hemans's conduct books, wartime papers from predecessor Hester Lynch Piozzi, original periodical pages, and dozens of first editions from the three core poets examined here, helped me build a case for women's varied tactics for guiding or revising Romantic readers' understanding of women during war.

If we linger with "Sir Raymond" a moment longer, we might note Robinson's lengthy descriptions of clashing armies and her mimicry of the ballad fad fed by Percy and other male antiquarians, which I examine at length in the first chapter. These tactics appear to challenge the literary marketplace's increased attention to and demand for

gendered forms and topics that support national hierarchies, like the trope of women wandering and dying on the battlefield or depictions of male achievements and monuments instead of their broken bodies. Revising popular genres and tropes is repeated in Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant's lyrics and domestic narratives, forms which were supposedly the most appropriate for women writers and their virtue but nevertheless became increasingly obsessed with war. While this analysis of changing approaches to the literary marketplace fits Behrendt's thesis, my discussions of the effect of print manipulations – like quotation marks and shifting stanzaic structures that get passed down to post-war representations of women and war – enhances our understanding of the craft of war poetry, particularly in the hands of women. My main argument, then, is that women poets' subtle textual disruptions in each genre highlight women's varied roles during war, from negotiator to record-keeper.

A secondary, albeit crucial, contribution this dissertation offers the field of Romanticism is the resurrection of overlooked or lost texts. Robinson and Hemans are well anthologized today, and Hemans preeminent in scholarship, but I read each, even the poet of domesticity, as a war poet. Cataloguing their representations and manipulations of battlefields, fallen warriors, and war monuments allowed me to engage with poems rarely, if ever, handled in contemporary scholarship. Whereas Robinson's *Lyrical Tales* (1800) verses, like "The Widow's Home" and "The Deserted Cottage," have been thoroughly analyzed for their affinities with Wordsworth and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads* and for their influence on Southey, I more closely examine the tactics therein that unify home and battlefield.[10] The little boy in "The Widow's Home" does not encounter

Wordsworthian nature in his countryside frolics, but his surroundings are suddenly collapsed into a battlefield scene where his father lies dead. Not only do the same flowers and warm sunlight overlap both places, but the tree where the boy plays his father's "oaten pipe" is called a warlike "watchtow'r" (67, 58). Robinson thus undermines pastoral promises of the home, where women are supposedly secluded and protected, by applying martial language to the space of the home and the space of the domestic genre. Moreover, my discussion of Robinson's blend of domestic and martial language is enhanced by other, lesser-known texts like her "Written on seeing a Rose still blooming at a Cottage Door on Egham Hill, the 25th of October, 1800" (which has not been reprinted since the nineteenth century) and "Stanzas written between Dover and Calais, in July 1792" (1793). Similarly, Hemans's "The Cliffs of Dover" (1817) – which has had little critical attention but is reprinted in Wolfson's anthology – takes up Robinson's earlier ocean setting and frustration with prolonged conflict. Other out-of-print texts like "The Memory of the Dead" (1828) pair well with the wives and warriors in *Records of Woman,* revealing Hemans's complex status as a war poet. Robinson, too, in anthologized and out-of-print verses, offers up her familiar word play and passion for liberty, which sets the tone for later war writing by both men and women.

My readings of Hemans and Robinson are extended in the work of the third core poet in this project, Jane Alice Sargant; though she engaged in political debate in poetry and pamphlets Sargant cannot be found in print or in much scholarship today. Her name can be found in one of Behrendt's monographs and in an anthology of Romantic sonnets; each source tantalizingly excerpts a couple of poems, notes that she published in multiple

genres, and, in Behrendt's footnote, laments the silences surrounding her life (312 n27). Internet searches and the catalogues at Harvard University and the British Library reveal that Sargant published poems, novels, biographies, plays, conduct books, and political pamphlets from 1817 until her death in 1869. Not only are her pamphlets and first editions scattered in archives from Harvard University to the British Library, but all of Sargant's texts are out of print; only one play, one collection of poems, and a handful of books of uncertain attribution can be accessed online. *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* buries her name – and the epithet "minor author" – in the biographical entry for her brother Sir Harry Smith, a decorated career officer and colonial governor for the British Army. The final appendix in his *Autobiography* prints a single letter from Sargant, his "favourite sister" according to the *ODNB*; another appendix consists entirely of letters written to her, which now reside at the National Archives in London. Moreover, her 1817 *Sonnets and Other Poems* – used extensively here – at times directly addresses "Henry" and expresses her desire to "make my grave amid the slaughter'd dead" ("Sonnet IX To My Brother"). She elsewhere conjures up his character when writing songs from the personas of a military commander and a marching army. Like Vera Brittain's World War I verses on her brother's service and her firsthand experiences of war, Sargant's work helps reveal that women's continual creation of war poetry integrates criticism and praise, subjectivity and public service. Indeed, Sargant closes this dissertation with her play *Joan of Arc,* published belatedly in 1840. This text and Sargant's unexamined connections to Romantic poets from Hemans to Keats point to a lingering obsession with war that deepens our understanding of the period's conversations about gender and genre.

Hemans's 1808 conception of the "scene" of politics and the "papers" of war poetry helped me to organize both the spaces or settings of home and battlefield – where women theoretically may or may not tread – as well as the generic spaces of ballad, elegy, domestic narrative, and lyric in the chapters below. Each chapter examines a genre, weaving through Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant's manipulation of that genre when representing women's roles during war. I often develop my analysis of these genres and the literary marketplace during the war years with contemporary texts from Helen Maria Williams, Amelia Opie, and Anna Letitia Barbauld as well as Wordsworth, Keats, and Byron. The first chapter, however, looks farther back to the antiquarian ballad revival led by Thomas Percy, David Herd, and later Sir Walter Scott. I argue that women poets countered antiquarian practices of collating variants and footnoting oral informants by incorporating layers of speech into their battlefield ballads. Speech, mnemonic parallelism, and typography unite the female figure in these ballads – who is located on the battlefield – and suggest the possibility of her speech or song being preserved in memory. My detailed subheadings in table of contents allow readers to home in on these techniques that critique and overcome women's silence during the ballad revival and during war.

Nature organizes my examination of the domestic genre in the second chapter: "'so distant and so dear'" Reconstructing the Home in Women's Home Front Poetry." Here I expand our understanding of the domestic poem to include not only families and rural scenes, but former soldiers and disenfranchised citizens as well. In what I term "home-front poems," Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant connect natural descriptions like

streams and trees to bloody battlefields. Describing a rural cottage with the same language as the battlefield at once dramatizes the closeness of home front and front lines and maps moments when nature fails to guide or succeeds in inspiring characters. Similarly, my third chapter discusses nature as one method of connecting home front readers to the battlefield, but more specifically to the dead soldiers therein. In yet another new form, the "wartime elegy," women poets consider how to mourn dead soldiers through locative words and shifting addresses and stanzas that delay consolations for loss. Like nature in the second chapter, personified figures of Death and Valor in the third chapter fail and fade from wartime elegies. The speakers often call out to the "reader" and embroil him in a search for soldiers' graves as well as written "rolls" or texts. Thus, I read women's wartime elegies as guidebooks for properly reading, writing, and remembering the dead.

First-person speakers in wartime settings, however, enact these guidelines for reading and recording wartime loss in ways quite different from what the elegies propose. Chapter Four: "Personal and Political Wandering in the Romantic War Lyric" takes Charlotte Smith's *The Emigrants* as its starting place and argues that when the lyric's first-person speaker was a woman reflecting on or criticizing her experiences with war, liminal settings like the ocean or shore take over the poem. I reexamine the genre's tension between private expression and national celebration – coalescing from the previous chapters and genres – as I read the exiled or wandering women speakers in Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant's texts. These speakers struggle to clearly articulate their relationship with or understanding of war, but their liminal settings, imperative

commands, and metrical variations do share women's voices and desires during periods of political crisis. The generic experimentation and representation of women during war in each chapter reveal pervasive tropes and techniques for navigating war in the long Romantic period.

CHAPTER II

BATTLEFIELD BALLADS AS FEMALE SPEECH ACTS DURING THE REVIVAL YEARS

When Maureen McLane, in *Balladeering, Minstrelsy, and the Making of British Romantic Poetry*, gazes closely at late eighteenth-century ballad citations and minstrelling texts, she surmises that "oral tradition and its poetries are imagined as sustained by unlettered women, to be superseded by male pedagogues and by writing technologies" (33). McLane has her eye on the aged Beldame in Beattie's *Minstrel* (1771) and antiquarian footnotes such as "Copied from the mouth of a milkmaid, 1771" found in David Herd's manuscripts and Sir Walter Scott's ballad collection (39).[11] Beldame and milkmaid are stripped of their agency over ballads – one woman sings but is soon replaced by a scholarly Hermit while the second is only a passive vessel – and become sources that serve antiquarian editorial practices. During the Romantic ballad revival, dozens of collections discovered, transcribed, collated, reprinted, and sometimes altogether rewrote ballads under the designation of "ancient," "old," or "popular." Most of the ballads – originating with rural classes, aged manuscripts, and even printed material, all polished by editors – trace the history of battles and kings, quote lover's squabbles, and romanticize robbers or fairies. Occasionally a mother is heard speaking to her son or a Lady defends a castle with a pistol, but these heroines are drowned out by

the male voice in Arthurian tales and Border Raid chants, at least in the scholarly collections. And there are rarely any speaking milkmaids.

Antiquarian collectors and editors left oral "authenticators" largely unnamed and muted, relegated to what McLane calls "passive" footnotes and disembodied "mouth(s)" in Romantic ballad collections for conflicting reasons (54, 39, 56). Though oral informants were viewed at once as illiterate, unreliable (in part because of Macpherson's *Ossian* controversy), and yet original, antiquarian editors relied on them to prove or correct a ballad's authentic lineage. Editors typically buried traces of oral tradition in lengthy learned headnotes and collations in order to "entrench a perception of the textual authority of ballads in print," which David Atkinson argues succeeded at the expense of oral tradition (470).[12] Atkinson and others find that elements of oral tradition – like ballad variants or mnemonic symbolism and parallelism – were consciously avoided by antiquarian editors in spite of a continuing reciprocal relationship between broadside or periodical ballads and oral song. I would also add that as editors collated a definitive text out of many different written and oral versions, the women – milkmaids or otherwise – at the edges of the ballad's content and its medium were often left in pieces. For instance, the women of "Sir Patrick Spens" found in both Percy and Scott's collections are described as disembodied "fingers white" (line 89); even the Lady with a pistol from "Edom O'Gordon" dissolves into "mouth," "cherry…cheeks," and "yellow hair" (93-95); and the milkmaid along with many other informants become merely mouths or memories to footnote.

Still, once a ballad had been rendered in scholarly print it was difficult for many readers and even editors to fully forget the antiquated – one might say natural or original – practices, principles, and people of oral balladry.[13] Even late in the nineteenth century, W.J. Courthope claims that "everything in the ballad – matter, form, composition – is the work of minstrels; all that the people do is to remember and report what the minstrel had put together" (445).[14] In Romantic-era texts, the continued evocation of minstrels was fueled in part by "unlettered women" who transmitted and presumably revised popular songs and in part by renewed interest in battles like Sir Spens and the Lady with the pistol encounter. Battlefield ballads littered antiquarian collections and contemporary periodicals alike, though women's engagement with such conflicts was often diluted. Romantic women minstrels then began imitating the antiquarian practice of collecting and collating old ballads while returning the "aura of orality" to new texts that filled with women's speech and mnemonic structures that aid memory (McLane 22).

Though balladeering women were left out of producing edited collections beyond supplying a song or a manuscript, their efforts were pooled into crafting and defining the contemporary ballad. But what did that look like? Outside of the antiquarian ballad collection, periodical poetry and international war grew and intensified. Discussions of the Romantic ballad rarely mention that the revival encountered both the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, two decades of nearly constant conflict that witnessed censorship trials, renewed attention to gender roles, and many more ballad collections.[15] Such collections understandably favored "ancient" war-related ballads and seemed to exert control over present anxieties by polishing a ballad into a single, perfect version

that showcased Britain's or Scotland's historical greatness.[16] However, at the same time that this scholarly practice produced multiple editions of ballad collections, periodicals were being filled with countless new wartime ballads, imitations, and songs – largely penned by average men and women – aimed at contemporary events like the British Navy thwarting the French, protection of the nation-family, and the rise and fall of Napoleon. In journals of various political inclinations, many of these new ballads specified that they were set "To the Tune of" older songs or had titles like "Imitation of the Ancient Ballad" and "Alteration of the Old Ballad," techniques that invoked memory, or memorability, while clearly augmenting and varying ballad voices.[17] The modern Romantic ballad was being defined at once by its reliance on favorite antiquarian ballads and by its incorporation of current battles or political figures that, when blended, created a particular set of gendered tropes.

Virtually every example of modern Romantic ballads has a counterpart that uses similar subject matter to promote a different sentiment, either extolling war as a glory or a necessity, or urging readers to condemn war's inhumanity. Often, ballads became current battlefield chants to "Shield your King: and flock agen / Where his sacred Banners fly" (Mayne line 3-4) or scenes of young war widows and orphans who "sit forlorne and sigh" (Penwarne 6). The tension between battlefield and home, men and women, chant and sigh seeped into periodical texts whether they imitated the narratives of "ancient" ballads or commented directly on Britain's present internal and external conflicts. In the latter, poets conversely referred to the words and actions of political figures like Pitt or Castlereagh as "schemers" or "triumphant" (51, 1)[18] "A Modern

Ballad" of 1814 further imagines a dialogue between Napoleon and England in which both agree that "petticoat government" must "cease" in order to achieve peace, as if women in politics are unruly oral informants (54). Women are more vocal and visible, however, in ballads that recount lovers parting because of – and sometimes debating – the decision to go to war. The trope of lovers together on the battlefield was very popular thanks to Thomas Penrose's 1794 "The Field of Battle," which launched a subgenre of that name.[19] In Field of Battle poems, the female character follows her beloved to the battlefield where both usually die from separate wounds to the body and to the heart; the lovers' battlefield reunion and dialogue is then used at different times to honor heroes' protection of the nation-family or to convey fruitless, needless losses. Indeed, women are lost in many battlefield ballads as they die there from broken hearts, generating pathos and sometimes criticism around war and gender.

Of the several ballads rediscovered and reprinted in Betty T. Bennett's *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism: 1793-1815*, only one offers a speaking woman, which points to Romantic authorial and editorial trends of muting women's contributions to balladry and the consequent need to investigate women's connection to war ballads. Though the unnamed woman in John Penware's "Imitation of the Ancient Ballad" rebukes war for the death of her husband that impoverishes her, the narrator concludes instead with the panegyric consolation that "on a grateful nation's breaste / Thou and thie orphane babe shall reste" (17-18). Her censorious speech is at odds with the narrator's interest in supporting Britain's continued war with France while the title and antiquated language further shield the critique. Such variable critical sentiment permeated print,

until journals became a "zone [of] government repression" and gendered criticism, especially during the Napoleonic Wars (Langan and McLane 257). Some literary critics argued that "the mind of women" in particular should avoid war and politics because women writers are "not usually favourable to that deep-toned emotion which constitutes the very essence of the higher kinds of poetry." In fact, women were better suited to the infamous "knitting needles."[20] Yet many radical theorists like John Thelwall argued, as paraphrased by Judith Thompson, that "*all* participants in the body politic must co-respond in the exercise of the power of speech" to combat political crises (29, emphasis added). Using Thelwall to trace how radical theories entered ballads, in this chapter I focus on the intersections of war, print, and the speaking or muted women therein.

The public literary networks created by periodicals initiated a modern version of ballad transmission, with many new "mouths" to hear from directly, including warrior women, maternal ghosts, and reformist poets. So although women's role as ballad vessel or heroine diminished into to a footnote or a physical feature as collectors codified and cemented ballads into dignified printed editions, many women poets continued to modify the genre with an eye toward war and an ear towards women's speech. Mary Robinson – along with Felicia Hemans and Jane Alice Sargant – repeatedly inserted markers of orality like speaking women and mnemonic structures into martial ballads. In more than two decades of war and women's balladeering, revised versions of the "ancient" female singers and heroines emerged and guided women's contemporary war ballads with techniques like metrical variation, typography, direct address, a series of questions and answers, and pointed parallelism. I argue that such techniques modified the mishandling

of women singers and characters in collated, scholarly editions while simultaneously revealing or shielding poets' critiques of merciless battle, approaches to war writing, and persistent gendered expectations.

The shape of this chapter relies heavily on Mary Robinson's extended series of ballads in her 1791 *Poems.* On the one hand, the date of these collected ballads is important because we may find and trace in them French Revolutionary debates, from the rhetoric of liberty and liberated minds to Thelwall's popular lectures on language and reform. On the other, Robinson's ballads, page by page, incorporate more and more quoted speech from women. Seen again in Jane Alice Sargant's 1817 "Ballad," quoted speech and direct address restore women to the political debates and martial topics found in many Romantic ballads. Thus, the chapter uses Robinson's ballads – like "Sir Raymond of the Castle" and "Llwhen and Gwyneth" – as touchstones for combatting the footnoted, disembodied, and muted women at the edges of ballad collections before exploring Robinson's influence on Sargant and Felicia Hemans. I weave in and out of these three poets and the main strategies each employs to make public or record women's points of view during war, strategies that include metrical variation, telling physical features, and parallel dialogue that creates a mnemonic structure. The focus on vocalization in these ballads preserves women's experiences and motivations for engaging with war, which counters antiquarian practices that at times overlooked women's wartime involvement in favor of recounting famous battles.

In Percy, Herd, and Scott's ballad editions, spanning 1765 to 1803, battlefield ballads often claimed opening pages and tended to chronicle fast-paced deployments. "The Battle of Otterbourne," appearing in all three collections, outlines key family clans and martial events – such as "Percy, with his good broad sword…thus wounded Douglas on the brow" (86-89) or "The Gordons good, in English blood, / They steeped their hose and shoon" (112-113) – while reflecting on the immortality of such figures and feats. Battlefield ballads in antiquarian collections and in contemporary periodicals often include dialogue, heavily incorporated by Robinson and Sargant, though women rarely instigate or dominate political debates. Women do, however, take up physical and verbal space on the battlefield in Romantic revisions of older battlefield ballads. Typically, women on the battlefield go mad or die as in "Mary of Carron, A Ballad," whose titular character laments "'my heart I feel with sorrows rending' / Then lifeless dropt" (31-32). Similarly, Penrose's popular "The Field of Battle" depicts Maria, her mind "sunk," traveling "o'er the sad scene in dire amaze, / she went with courage not her own - / on many a corpse she cast her gaze" (41-43).[21] More often, Romantic periodicals saw ballads like John Mayne's "English, Scots, and Irishmen," which uses "Mothers, Sisters, Sweethearts dear" as motivation for war (33). In response to such practices and to the popularity of marital ballads in which women tend to play limited parts, the female-authored ballads examined below fill up with layers of speech and pointed typography that not only unite women with war but propose the possibility that women's battlefield songs may be passed down and used by others, much like the oral life and history of old or "ancient" ballads. Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant revise the ballad to house female

speech acts instead of battlefield maneuvers and triumphs; thus, more space is created within the genre to hear directly about women's involvement with war and revolutionary principles.[22]

The Body as Voice

Mary Robinson made the case for exercising women's speech during war with a series of ballads that engaged with the French Revolution and its ever-present debates on liberty and censorship. When she collected her ballads into the 1791 *Poems,* she subtitled their section "Old English Ballads" because, as she says in the headnote, of the verse's "simplicity" (9). Her headnote is deceiving, however, as all her ballad imitations present different, more complex meters and increasing degrees of dialogue. I trace the ballads as they are ordered in her 1791 *Poems* and reprinted in the posthumous 1806 volumes. Reminiscent of scholarly ballad collections, Robinson's titles and headnote lend the collection literary authority and Atkinson's notion of "permanence" while each ballad slowly returns women's direct speech and mnemonic structures to the genre. Celeste Langan describes quoted speech, changes in mater, and repeated mnemonic symbols as "written signs of orality" that signal a poet's awareness of oral production and ballad variants (66). Alan Bold additionally explains that the structure of rhyming sounds and key words made ballads "schematic story-containers sturdy enough for repeated usage" and extemporization by other singers (15). Robinson's ballad heroines craft memorable structures and symbols in their speeches, which often enact a bit of "petticoat government." Like her contemporary John Thelwall, Robinson – periodical editor, royal

consort, and actress – considered the mouth the "parcel of the mind" which, when in tune with others, created a democratic society where ideas are shared and rebuilt together much like a ballad in circulation (Thompson 33, 24). By slowly shifting from silence to dialogue, Robinson's texts combat the tendency of the government, literary critics, and ballad writers and editors to neglect women's voices.

By pitting women's silent, physical descriptions against speech, Robinson's ballads reconceived the separation of women into parts – like mouths or fingers or hair – as signs of their activity rather than their beauty or ineffectuality. The first ballad of her series, "Sir Raymond of the Castle. A Tale" is located, appropriately for a ballad, in the feudal past but comments on the contemporary question of women's roles during war through physical description and metered speech. While "An ancient Castle" prepares readers for a historical or perhaps a gothic tale, the second stanza quickly offers a family portrait of the Castle's current inhabitants, "a wealthy dame" and two children (4, 6). As in Robert Southey's "The Battle of Blenheim," domestic settings frame war-torn scenes and debates in Romantic ballads that aim to move beyond distant battle scenes and thoughtless, songlike celebrations. Whereas "ancient" historical ballads or panegyric chants often "preclude a definite point of view," in Bold's definition, balladeering women like Robinson often rewrote wartime topics to include women's point of view, actions, and more and more of their speeches (25). In "Sir Raymond," the son soon goes off to war and thus exposes the daughter – who is made up of separate physical features for much of the poem – to wartime negotiation, battle, and defense. Famous for her beauty, the daughter Ella is subsequently wooed and stolen away by the titular Sir Raymond.

Once Ella disappears, the ongoing war of "dissension" in the land becomes a mere backdrop as dialogue takes over the poem (16).

Ironically, Ella scarcely contributes to the dialogue of this first ballad, but her plight – drawn out in changing physical details – supersedes the civil war and thus motivates Robinson to shift her text into a series of speeches. The second half of the ballad is almost entirely a dialogue between Raymond and his new bride's brother who has come to retrieve her with force of arms.

> "Come forth, thou valiant Knight," he said,
> "Thy prowess quickly show,
> With speed prepare thy lance and shield
> To meet the dauntless foe"
> …
> Enrag'd, the haughty RAYMOND cried,
> "Base wretch, receive thy doom!
> For thy bold errand thou shalt die
> Within a dungeon's gloom." (45-60)

To punctuate this dialogue, which occurs without pause later in her series, Robinson offers a few descriptive scenes. One stanza catalogs the warring men, but six stanzas describe Ella, the bride and sister. Similar to the ballads collated in Percy and Scott's collections, like the ladies wringing their "fingers white" awaiting Sir Spens, Ella's reactions to the battle are recorded in her physical features, not in her language like the men's lengthy dialogue. However, the physical details unbalance the battle scenes in their length and are not simply used for a decorative refrain. First "her blushing cheek, her downcast eye, / Her secret flame [for Raymond] confessed," as if a viceroy for her voice (29-30). Yet this same coloring is later lost, giving way to a "wan" and "quiv'ring lip" at

the sight of the battle she cannot stop (65). When the "vermilion" in Ella's cheek does return it strangely and violently "Glow'd" alongside battlefield "blood," suggesting a connection between her feelings and the battle (141, 139). This shift in her features underscores a shift in her approaches, even actions, during war that her later dialogue makes clear. Still, Ella's physical features first create conversations between the warring men and ultimately reveal her connection to their physical and verbal battles.

Compared to the other ballad heroines in the series, an unusually lengthy set of physical descriptions compensate for Ella's silence and perhaps denote the contemporary democratic assumption that "mind and body are sympathetically connected" (Thompson 30). Robinson notes early in the text that Ella's varying features "Bespoke her soul's deep woe," as if the outer body is the voice of one's interior thoughts (66). Further, readers follow the tides of battle not from a map of each man's movements, but from Ella's body as her cheek changes from "wan" to "vermillion" and as her tears flow twice like "crystal drops" based on what she sees (65, 142, 67). The tears stand in for protest speech or sorrowful thought as Ella silently confronts each man's uncompromising rage. In fact, her physical features create conversations; Ella's first tear only provokes disgust from her new husband as he calls her "Speechless" and thus "ignoble," but her brother relinquishes his fight at sight of her crying (61, 73). At the end, her brother exclaims "More homage than the *conqueror's sword* / Can beauty's tears command!" (155-6). Ella's tears, here closely following her single verbal exclamation, lead to a ceasefire. Her brother, now victorious, chooses to be merciful to Raymond once he sees, and perhaps hears, how war has affected Ella. Because Ella's visible thoughts and feelings also lead to

secret actions, which she alludes to in her brief speech, "Sir Raymond" provides new avenues for women in ballads – often muted or dissolved into parts – to be heard.

Briefly, Ella overcomes her persistent silence as Robinson replaces physical features with a moment of metrical and typographical intervention that enacts Romantic theories of speech and motion. At the time of the ballad revival and French Revolution, public speaking and lecture circuits were thriving; Thelwall most notably theorizes the principles of voice – and shows its relationship to Romantic values of imagination and sympathy – when he writes of "the sympathy between" speaker and audience that subsequently produces "action and reaction" (Quoted in Thompson 27). Similarly, before Ella's final tears prompt her soldier-brother sympathy and recapitulation, she has time for a single exclamation of her own: "*All that I hold most dear!"* is hidden in a chest (136). Though dissected into physical features like eyes and cheeks and lips for much of the poem, a technique often found to subvert power, Ella re-forms herself through a speech that unites sympathy and action (Thompson 37).[23] Indeed, the "dear" chest is where she has stowed away Raymond, to have him carried out by servants with her other belongings and thus avoid execution. She also repeats that her brother "take heed" and keep his promise to secure her treasured belongings as he raids Raymond's castle (137, 117-120). As she now verbally connects to her brother while alluding to her seditious actions and influencing his final act of mercy, her inner, earnest tone is reflected in meter and italics. In this line – "*All that I hold most dear!*" – Robinson also adds an extra syllable to her otherwise regular tetrameter and 32rimester lines, drawing further attention to the new visibility of a woman speaking.

Ella's brief contribution to the ballad dialogue is metrically set apart in order to emphasize the complementary role she could potentially play within wartime debate, although she is largely unable to in "Sir Raymond." The male dialogue about war and "prowess" leads to no change or grand event, but Ella half-silently alters the outcome of this conflict by acting on her love and cleverly circumventing verbal promises (46).

> "Take heed, my Brother, ah, take heed,
> Nor break thy sacred word,
> Nor let thy kinsman's blood degrade
> The glories of thy sword!" (137-140)

Not only does Ella urge her brother not to break his verbal contract because she used the contract to smuggle Raymond to safety in her belongings, but she further overcomes what one scholar calls the "impersonality" of antiquarian ballads and ballad collections in her various relationships and corresponding actions. Robinson seems to be transforming "a common stock" character, a damsel-in-distress, into a political player the way an improvisational singer might revise tales, adding telling physical features and female speech based on a new context (Atkinson 459). In Robinson's "Old English Ballads" section she seeks to increasingly redirect older, less personal ballads towards individual, speaking women who share contemporary messages of action that are often overlooked or silenced by literary practices and critics.

If we turn, three decades later, to Felicia Hemans's war ballads, the genre gets peppered with distinct metrical variations and question marks that highlight overlooked women in ballads, particularly those engaging in war. Like Ella, Hemans's heroine in

"Woman on the Field of Battle" is an instrumental figure during war, although without speech. In a more extreme activity than smuggling Raymond out in a chest, this unnamed female warrior died accomplishing "work" on the battlefield "amidst the best" (7-8). Hemans's clipped ballad meter links the poem to funeral dirges, as noted by Susan Wolfson, revising 3434 stresses to 3232 (455n1). However, the dirge rhythm often halts and replaces honor with suspicion.

> Gentle and lovely form,
> What didst thou here,
> When the fierce battle-storm
> Bore down the spear?
>
> Banner and shivered crest,
> Beside thee strown,
> Tell, that amidst the best,
> Thy work was done! (1-8)

By minimizing the number of stressed syllables throughout most lines, Hemans trims down the traditional ballad meter because she narrows its focus, from grand to small, from national to personal. However, as readers prepare to see more of the woman and her honorable "work," the narrator's dirge stumbles. While dactyls jumpstart many of Hemans's otherwise trochaic lines, this rhythm is suddenly shifted in line six. The metrical shift to iambs, "Be**side** thee **strown**," pauses the ballad's rhythmic, hypnotic quality and points to its thematic tension between women and war. This line, the first of a handful of striking variations, occurs at the precise moment the woman is linked explicitly to artifacts of battle, a banner and a broken shield. Later, other questions punctuate the battlefield scene, suddenly shifting to conversational iambs and

dramatizing the woman's silence: "How **gave** those **haugh**ty **dead /** A **place** to **thee**?" (15-16). No response comes, nor are there further details about the battle or physical descriptions that can bespeak her passion or her doom. Hemans's meter and unanswered questions embody the practice of overlooking or muting women in Romantic ballads and collections, especially when they could potentially narrate or actively participate in war.

Though metrical variation and question marks point to the needed, unspoken answers the woman warrior might otherwise provide if allowed dialogue, her pronounced silence helps Hemans incorporate instead personal address and other oral singers. Celeste Langan has argued that address materializes what is missing, it "conjures…into existence" the object of focus (69). So as the narrator speaks and questions "thou" from the outset of the poem, the woman begins to appear on the battlefield and appear as a poised, if now silent, informant for the martial ballad and its queries. Moreover, there is almost an implied apostrophic "O" in the first line, "[O] Gentle and lovely form," a technique Langan and McLane argue helps "abolish our consciousness of the print media" in order to experience the oral (245). Yet Hemans chose address over apostrophe, which gave the ballad a unique attention to textual, poetic interventions – like questions, italics, and metrical variations – and their ability to critique women's silence. In response to the unanswered questions and materializing addresses, the narrator ultimately posits that women are always "Unshrinking seen" on battlefield and page, acknowledging women's presence and participation in both literary and wartime production (40). While many periodical ballads and elegies during the war years allowed their narrators and characters to imaginatively recount the words spoken during great events, "Woman on

the Field of Battle" replaces such speech or narration with direct address as another means of drawing readers' attention to the heroine and to witness what is lost without her voice.[24] Moreover, the narrator can only wish that "Soft voices, clear and young / Mingling their swell, / Should o'er thy dust have sung" (21-23). The conditionals belie at once the absence of speech and the absence of a real funeral dirge for the woman warrior, who is questioned more than honored. Still, the imagined voices are from "Sisters" who may be other, later ballad heroines or perhaps ballad singers that can memorize, perform, and build upon the simple meter and repeated key words in order to re-sing the warrior woman's tale of "thy dust" and "love" (25, 23, 58). Moreover, words like "thee," "thou," and "thine" are prominent in the ballad, and occasionally italicized, urging readers to attend to the women at the edges of ballad content and creation. Speaking directly to the unnamed woman gives her currency and visibility despite the missing speech.

As if in response to the "conjur[ing]" addresses and questions, the woman warrior's body and physical features appear in the poem to speak for her. Like Robinson's quiet heroine Ella, the warrior's "golden hair" and "brow serene" immediately shift focus away from her "work" and return to familiar tropes of beauty (11-12, 8). The physical beauty in this later ballad, however, is juxtaposed with battlefield accoutrements that are no longer applied to the woman after the narrator's break in the meter at line six.[25] In the same quatrain, the narrator notes her "lovely form" as well as her ability to withstand "the spear" (1-4). Yet she is later "fair and still" despite the "shrill" trumpet blaring, which seems inadequate for her dirge (33, 30). The juxtaposition of physical features with the battlefield reveals the difficulty in combining

war and women in balladry. Further, in the absence of "Soft voices" to adequately honor and tell her story, cavalrymen enter "Trampling thy place of sleep" (35). Not only has war destroyed the woman, it now threatens to destroy her resting place or, more devastating, to destroy the memory of her "work…amidst the best," which the ballad form might otherwise preserve for male heroes marching into battle.[26] However, her physical features stand in for speech and seem to outlast the temporary intrusion of male soldiers. Her aforementioned "brow" suddenly "Gleams," spreading a strange "glow" on the wrecked battlefield, which symbolically asserts her ability to positively alter the space of war (51). The language of light, "golden," and gleaming is used repeatedly in "Woman on the Field of Battle" like a mnemonic marker to help other "Sisters" remember or tell her tale (11). Then, if Hemans like Robinson is working with the theory of sympathetic mind and body, the physical gleam stands in for the woman's thoughts or speech, perhaps about war and "love," which the poem ends with (58). This curious ballad combats the threat, the possibility, that women's wartime stories will be overlooked or muted by intertwining alternative modes of voice and being in the page's structure of address, questions, and telling physical features.

Making Speech Visible

Robinson first balances the use of physical features and direct female speech in "Donald and Mary," following "Sir Raymond" in the 1791 *Poems*. Here Robinson revises the ballad form in what was becoming a popular strategy for Romantic imitations of old ballads. Namely, the typical ballad quatrains are united into an eight-lined stanza with

alternating rhyme; sometimes, only a couplet is added. "Donald and Mary" is further revised as Robinson relinquishes both feudal setting and historical battle so that the ballad begins describing instead a troubled woman roaming the Scottish countryside. As noted above, "Field of Battle" poems typically depict mad women roaming the battlefield after the death of a loved one, but Robinson asserts that the same fate awaits women on the home front as well, the subject of the subsequent chapter (Bainbridge 25). "Donald and Mary" opens with physical features that tell a tale of woe; Mary was once "gentle" and fair but is now "Pale" and "38im'd with sorrow's tears" (1, 8, 5). Moreover, she sings a "plaintive song," perhaps the ballad itself, on the hills around her home, which links her to the milkmaids and old women of oral balladry (4). This detail also prompts readers to listen for her voice. Still, the backdrop of war intervenes after three stanzas of physical detail; readers learn that Mary's Donald was enchanted by "Glory" and "lur'd to arms," language found in countless ballads, but the emphasis on military exploits scarcely lasts four lines and Robinson gives no specifics of Donald's service beyond "he fought and bled!" (25-9). Instead, Robinson at last introduces the voices and experiences of "unlettered women" into ballad creation and content.

The final four stanzas, after this brief mention of the wars, refocus readers on Mary's troubles through quoted speech and a new emphasis on physical action instead of physical features. Now instead of a narrator describing her "azure fountain" eyes and "chilling" exposure to the elements, Mary herself speaks to us for four stanzas (6, 10). Her speech provides a glimpse into oral balladry as she pivots on rhyming words like "brave" Donald who then succumbed to a "wave" of battle while repeating "who has

seen" in the way ballads could be structured to aid memory (49, 51). Moreover, the sudden introduction of quotation marks mimics the practice of some scholarly ballad collections and mimics the shift in speaker one might hear or record during oral performances, thus bridging print and orality. Because the quotes are repeated and prominent on the page, Robinson ensures Mary's speech or "song" is visible, unmistakable for readers. Her first lines implore readers to tell her something of Donald – whose name is emphasized in italics as if she raises her voice – but her repeated questions are answered in her third speech stanza by her own assertion to go abroad and find him. As Mary poses and answers this series of questions, she fulfills a circle of dialogue on her own, filling in gaps and developing her story. She then says she will "carve his name, / And decorate his hallow'd clay," a physical act worthy of her counterpart Ella (59-60). Mary's physical descriptions give way to sustained speech in which she reveals diverse opportunities for women during war, namely, to sing and build or "carve" a memorial.

Mary's aim to build a monument coincides with her speech act in this ballad and thus equates speech or song with building memorials, an idea I take up in further chapter three. In order to showcase women's multifaceted engagement with war and with the oral origins of the ballad, Mary's recorded speech act in "Donald and Mary" is all that remains to "decorate" Donald's or her own grave. In her wandering Mary suddenly states, "I meet my doom!" and dies before finding the battlefield and completing the monument (81). The unvisited battlefield then represents the possibility for women to continue engaging with war in both verbal and physical activities presented in Robinson's new ballads. As Mark Rawlinson explains, a "geographical boundary" like the battlefield

mentioned in a poem "is the symbolic site of imaginative transgressions," a place to explore real if taboo possibilities like women engaging in political debates or fighting during war (113).[27] To clarify for readers the link between battle spaces and female speech, Robinson practices severing the ballad from military exploits and physical description so that women are directly commenting on wartime settings instead of being a secondary detail or plot device. Moreover, because Mary's song is repeatedly quoted and tightly structured it becomes a fitting, "decorate[d]" memorial or grave "carve[d]" by the minds and mouths of women. The wartime "plaintive song" is now made through a woman's direct speech, revising at once the subject of many historical ballads and challenging the silencing and collating women underwent in printed ballad collections.

Framing the Ballad with Speech

The women in Robinson's next two ballads, as ordered in her 1791 *Poems,* not only make their way to the battlefield, but the entire ballad is told from their point of view in order to restore women simultaneously as heroines and oral informants of contemporary, wartime tales. "Llwhen and Gwyneth" is again a traditionally formal ballad, alternating the number of stressed syllables with an ABCB rhyme scheme. What is instantly unusual about this ballad for Robinson's series and for collections like Percy's and Scott's, is its opening quotation marks. Rather than narrative exposition or physical detail, Llwhen cries out "'When will my troubled soul have rest?'" and proceeds to ask if she will see her beloved Gwyneth again (1). Like Mary, Llwhen uses questions and answers to frame and further her thoughts and narrate her journey. She speaks

directly to readers, describing the dark scene as she maneuvers through the "thorns and briars" (30). Thus, readers soon learn through her narration that she tramples on the "gore" of a battlefield, fearing her "captive Hero dies" (28, 36). Unlike "ancient" martial ballads, such as Percy and Scott's versions of "The Battle of Otterbourne," that treat the battlefield as a map on which to trace troops' feats or mark the crimsoned spots of death and glory, Robinson challenges common panegyric language of the battlefield through Llwhen's speech act. There is still a certain "glory of the field" achieved by "gallant" soldiers, as noted by Llwhen, but her command over the description of the battlefield reveals the oft-forgotten minds and mouths of women during war. Llwhen sees both unnecessary "gore" and evidence of "valiant" prowess in battle (57). Hemans, too, discusses the incongruence between "trumpets," "chargers," and their boorish "Trampling" on the fallen woman warrior. Both women remain steadfast heroines on the battlefield, reflecting in their own wartime experiences contemporary tensions between glory and death. In the midst of the battlefield, Llwhen dares to "hope" she will find and even rescue Gwyneth from the "mighty chief," although she admits the dreary field "chills my rosy cheek" (37, 59, 32). Though she reveals her separate, telling physical features, they differ from those of "Sir Raymond" or "Woman on the Field of Battle" because of the use of "my" and the direct quotation marks. This framework of speech is a remarkable revision of a battlefield ballad because the thoughts and actions of a woman are motivating and guiding this poem. No longer does the wartime ballad function simply to praise the nation or recount famous feats. Here the speaking woman commands the

ballad to describe war from her point of view, but with common techniques like questions and panegyrics.

What is more, Llwhen's speeches echo current debates about liberty and war's necessity that grew in force throughout the French Revolution; thus, Robinson often chose female characters, like Ella, to initiate the Romantic ballad's sociopolitical subjects. Llwhen contrasts war's "bonds of steel" that physically hold Gwyneth's "form" with "the Freedom of his mind" and his heart's ability to "fly to… ME!" (45-52). In the context of conflict, the "sympathetically connected" mind and body are forced to separate in order to achieve hard-fought liberty. Culminating in the pamphlet wars of the 1790s, many radical thinkers in France and England argued that the Revolution was a result of enlightening the mind of men across classes. Removing mental barriers was considered a return to the equal and reciprocal laws of nature that government had corrupted, like the corresponding return in literature to "ancient" or natural oral ballads. If this type of natural education continued, freedom could reach the shores of all nations, resulting in equal laws and removal of physical "bonds." Thelwall in his censorship trials and speech theories felt what Leigh Hunt would solidify in his poetry after the war years, "liberty is present, if at all, only in the theatre of the mind" (Shaw 198). Not only did mental freedom precede and sometimes supersede physical freedom, but many writers in the period gendered this separation into physical, sexual women and intellectual, thinking men. Llwhen, however, repeats the same language of prioritizing the mind's "Freedom" from physical "bonds" and "constraint" and later solidifies her mind's superiority when faced with death (51). Robinson's ballad series yokes a variety of contemporary debates

with women's speech that simultaneously restores women to politics and critique the notion of keeping them separate.

"Llwhen and Gwyneth" creates currency for the "unlettered women" at the edges of ballad transmission by exploring contemporary debates directly through their mouths. Llwhen's connection to the argument for the physical and mental equality of all people is further established when she asserts "No costly sandals deck my feet" and that "Chieftan," "Druid," and "Trav'ller" will mourn at this battlefield site (29, 133-7). The broad parameters of her speech not only reveal the mental and emotional capacity of a lower-class woman as she contemplates personal loss and national debate but remind us of the diverse people affected by war who can be both audience and author of ballads. Llwhen envisions these various groups learning from the battlefield's "story" and even "chaunt[ing]," singing the tale again in freedom of body and mind (140, 138). Rulers, druids, and wanderers alike are mobile and musical, recounting "The memory" of the battle at "Tomb," "foamy surge," and "desert heath" thanks to Llwhen's initial ballad (133-9). In lengthy quoted speech, that will purportedly be passed on to these visitors, Robinson restores the mouths of women like the muted, nameless milkmaid who so often created and preserved ballads, even of martial bent.[28] Llwhen enacts the creation and durability of the ballad as she aims to share it with a diverse range of people who are free to wander, think, and "chaunt" war songs. Her statements about war and song suggest women's ability to engage with political debates or events in ways the ballad revival, and perhaps society at large, overlooked.

Quoted speech becomes the primary mode to explore women's complex relationship to wartime debates, revealing that women do more than echo ideas; they exemplify and revise them based on new contexts. Llwhen suggests that "valiant feats of arms" are necessary for the world to subsequently receive "deeds of Mercy," as she hopes her Gwyneth will receive from the enemy (57, 59). As the French Revolution gained infamy, many supporters in England saw events like the storming of the Bastille and King Louis XVI's imprisonment as temporary malignancies to ensure a sound republic. Llwhen too supports war's activities because "no gem can deck a *victor's* throne / Like incense from the heart" that is fighting and offering pardon for a better world (67-8, my emphasis). The position that militant measures ensure freedom is abruptly checked, however, when Llwhen encounters Gwyneth's ghost. Acts of war have not led to "Mercy" as hoped, though it takes Llwhen a few stanzas to realize this failure (59). The ballad, by becoming a vehicle for speech, allows readers to chart the undulations of Llwhen's mind once again as she passes from exultation that "He lives!" to urgency – "Oh! Haste" – to fear at "Thy cheeks so deathly pale" (73, 83, 88). Instead of narrating physical features to chart changes, Robinson ensures that Llwhen voices her own changing thoughts, from her own point of view. Now physical features are relegated to the male character's pale cheeks, an opposite structure to "Sir Raymond," though features still help Llwhen understand what has transpired on the battlefield: her beloved has died. Because Llwhen's speech frames the entire narrative, space is made in the ballad form for women's mouths to explore and revise contemporary debates circulating in France and England.

Llwhen's stance on war shifts when confronted with the ghost, reproducing current political debates and the emotional toil of battle through a female register. The revolutionary hopes for a just war and enlightened classes momentarily fail Llwhen when faced with actual destruction. As Gwyneth's ghost is described, the physical setting of the battlefield also becomes grim, denoting the gradual realization of death. Llwhen sees a "lofty lattice grate," denoting a prison, and the false hope of morning's "flame" approaching in an ominous juxtaposition similar to Hemans's tension between the gleaming woman and shrill battlefield trumpets (71, 84). Llwhen's growing concern over details like "spectres" and a "crimson shield" then unnerves readers with a supernatural turn and creates narrative foreshadowing (12, 74). Gwyneth now speaks, relating his death, and further involves Llwhen in wartime activity by asking her to gather his "relics" for a monument (107). Their dialogue continues to emphasize the significance of speech in the ballad form while exploring gendered expectations during war. As Mary wishes to do in the earlier ballad, Gwyneth points out his "shield, "spear," and "bones" on the battlefield that only Llwhen can consecrate (95, 97). Because Llwhen has vocalized her wartime experiences wandering on the field as well as contemporary arguments about revolution, she now has a pivotal role to play in the aftermath of battle.

The ensuing dialogue gives Llwhen space to revise the course of action Gwyneth tries to impose on her into a more consequential and vocal one. She asserts that her heart feels "A sharper pang…Than thine, brave youth, when rent in twain" (125-7). In this hyperbolic speech, Robinson aligns emotional pangs of a broken heart with bodily injuries in an attempt to equalize men's and women's responses to war. In fact, Llwhen's

emotional pain leads to a corresponding physical sacrifice that reinforces contemporary conceptions of mind and body. Llwhen's vocal and physical resolutions are the climax of Robinson's new ballad; women can speak of and participate in war through the familiar techniques: glory, lovers left behind, and gory battlefields. By making women the instigators and directors of the ballad instead of representations of a larger national theme, Robinson gives them space to assert several unique roles during war such as narrator, negotiator, and memorialist. Further, both Robinson and Hemans posit that women's "love" is the highest motivation to engage physically with war. Llwhen expresses the source of her pain, her "heart," by comparison with Gwyneth's body and because of their difference she cannot accept the exact memorial he wants (125). Her greater emotional wound, received on the battlefield though not with a spear, cannot be assuaged with relics and "a sacred shrine" (110). Instead, before she dies, she chooses her new role: "Llwhen's ghost shall mark the shrine, / A monument of woe!" (143-4). Her active decision to die and her implied realization of the emptiness of "relics" reasserts the argument that liberated minds can grow out of conflict. She chooses to represent the freedom of the mind in spite of physical failings, a frequent concern in women's war poetry and seen again in the following chapter. Like Mary's verbal record, Llwhen's ghost becomes a monument to war and loss, poignantly rewriting the memory of war from glory to "woe." Still, her song will be heard and again chanted – presumably by her ghost or other visitors – at this site. By revising the ballad to house female speech acts instead of historical or military exploits alone, Robinson has made space within this genre

to explore women's participation in war and relate those activities to current debates about the nature of revolution.

Mnemonic Men and Women

Even in the aftermath of Waterloo, now-neglected poet Jane Alice Sargant followed Robinson's earlier emphasis on increasing female debate during war but relied more heavily on mnemonic devices like parallelism and symbolism that assist in remembering or repeating key ideas. Though Sargant's 1817 *Sonnets and Other Poems* contains only a scattered handful of ballads compared to Robinson's entire section devoted to the form in 1791, Sargant's all make use of speaking characters – like Llwhen and Gwyneth – who debate wartime concepts of celebration, loss, body, and mind. The plainly titled "Ballad" recounts the parting claims of two lovers before war in a series of quoted speeches enhanced by repeated symbols. With a "gallant ship" waiting to take the sailor "to foreign seas," he first engages his beloved Anna in a debate about constancy, comparing her to flowers (4-5).

> VI.
> "Behold yon blue-bell drooping sad,
> O'ercharg'd with morning dew;
> So gentle drops of sorrow stand
> In those soft orbs of blue."
> VII.
> "The rising sun, ascending high,
> Shall dry that dew away;
> And longer in my Anna's eye
> Will sorrow's tear-drops stay?" (21-28)

When Anna supplies her answer, the same natural materials are used and built upon, creating a framework for memory and for women's speech.

> XII.
> "Fond hope, indeed, may dry the tear,
> That now flows down my cheek;
> Her still kind voice, in whispers soft,
> Of happier days may speak; –"
> XIV.
> "But like the blue-bell, modest flow'r,
> That only loves the shade,
> To gayer scenes thy own true love
> Will never be betray'd." (49-56)

Anna acknowledges her tears and her connection to the blue-bell flower in a speech strikingly parallel to the sailor's. Not only does this parallelism – used throughout the text – create a mnemonic structure for easier recall and revision, but the parallel tears and flowers help Anna launch into her personal account of constancy. She retains the "drooping" (21, 57) blue-bell as a symbol for her and her love, but instead of the sailor's fear of a "rising sun" (25) she asserts her constancy with the opposite "shade," "far removed from every eye" (54, 59). Her speech reuses and complements the sailor's, making room for women's voices during war that express love or fears similar to men. Indeed, the parallel dialogue littered with natural symbols like flowers and sun includes "a range of optional, mnemonic, narrative, and linguistic structuring devices" used for ballad creation and even recitation (Atkinson 469). Like Anna's use and expansion of the sailor's flower metaphor, readers are given a framework of repeated words and parallel sentence structures from which they could recite or rebuild in the fashion of oral balladry. Anna especially seems aware of orality as she emphasizes "voice" and "speak[ing]"

while her own speech is contained in prominent quotation marks and repeated symbols. Because Sargant's ballad is filled with quotation marks and long dashes and symbols that repeatedly signal speech, it points to the print-orality feedback loop examined by McLane and Langan (243-247).[29] Unlike footnoted oral informants in scholarly collections, Sargant's dialogue establishes the possibility for that loop to continue, for parts of "Ballad" to move in and out of printed and oral life. The reciprocal relationship between printed and oral ballads is further revealed as the natural, biological symbols of flowers, sun, and "stately oak" give way in the later dialogue to harsh rocks, waves, and punctuation that suggest a devastating turn in the wartime plot (9).

Repetitions of flowers and rocks leave a breadcrumb trail through the parallel dialogue and initiate the tragic events of the poem, in which minds and bodies are threatened by war. Before he sails to battle, the sailor also likens Anna's constancy to "the rock's cold flinty breast" that is made "Warm in the genial ray" of the sun, but soon turns "Cold as before" (29-35). In Anna's rebuttal of this point, she again parallels his speech closely but also foreshadows her later insensate mind caused by a broken heart, the concluding message of the poem.

> XVI.
> "That rock, indeed, true emblem is
> Of what my heart would be,
> If thou, forgetful of thy vows,
> Shouldst cease to think on me.
> XVII.
> Soon would it lose all vial heat…
> Alike insensible to all," (60-67)

Anna recasts the rock to represent an "insensible" mind instead of the inconstant love the sailor finds in the emblem, revealing her command over these repeated symbols and the debate. The symbolic and mnemonic device of the rock is used again to accelerate the plot of "Ballad" when the sailor's body is "dash'd against the rocks that lurk below… He sinks – to rise no more! (103-4). Rocks both initiate and symbolize the breaking of body and mind that both characters experience, respectively. Once the sailor's body is broken on the rocks, Anna's mind is likewise "crush'd" and "reason knew no more" like the destructive, "insensible" rocks of her earlier dialogue (119, 126). In her "maniac" state at the end of "Ballad" Anna still "sings" her tale, revealing the persistence of female speech, those overlooked milkmaid mouths, and she echoes the earlier dialogue by intertwining "simple flow'rs" into her hair (128-131). Slightly changed from the blue-bells, Anna still invokes the mnemonic, parallel structure of the ballads while conveying the mental toll war has had on women.

In a welcome complement to female-voiced ballads, Sargant's 1818 collection also revises war chants by pitting the panegyric voices of military commanders against soldiers who instead share mental and physical struggles during war. The two other ballads in *Sonnets and Other Poems* are both titled "Address" with various subtitles, a vocal tactic that materializes soldier's bodies (Langan 69). Sargant places these entire ballads in the mouths of a battle commander and a marching troop of soldiers, respectively. The commander addresses his soldiers with panegyric language at every turn: "glorious hour," "Welcome danger," "cannons roar" (1, 24, 12). He even heavily alludes to a favorite contemporary ballad, Thompson's "Rule, Britannia!" as proof that

the battle's outcome "*must* be liberty" (20). Sargant's italics, as in Robinson's dialogue for Ella, unite vocal inflections and interior passion with print conventions. The army's "Address," on the other hand, explores and defends men's various fears and feelings during war from their own point of view. In fact, Sargant repeatedly emphasizes these "warrior[s]" as thinking men instead of war machines that blindly "Rush to death or victory" as in the previous ballad-address by the commander (9, 4). Instead, words like "thought," "thinks," and "our mem'ry" litter this marching song, alluding to the mental prowess or liberty that they fight for. The soldier's thoughts of home and of loved ones further arm them with "fresh vigor" for the battle, another connection Sargant makes between mind and body (19). Once again, interior passion directs the exterior action of the song as Thelwall argued in his theories of speech and motion. Importantly, Sargant aligns men and women's responses to war when the soldiers sing that their "breast for a moment will bleed" when thinking "of his babes, and the wife of his heart" (13-4). The bleeding heart, metaphorically applied to women's superior pain in Hemans and Robinson, here reveals that men too undergo physical and emotional pain during war.

In turn, the male-voiced acknowledgement of tears and bleeding hearts brings typically feminine tropes commensurate with wartime vocabulary. The marching men further assert that their "tear" and "sigh" at leaving England do not signal fear or "disgrace," since these actions would often be viewed as womanly in the context of war (1-3). The act of women crying during war has a dual effect in Robinson's "Sir Raymond" ballad, provoking disgust and then eventual peace. Sargant, however, ennobles the susceptibility of men's hearts and bodies by using the same language often

associated with femininity to describe soldiers on the battlefield, like "tear," "sigh," and "joys of home" (11).[30] Moreover, the army's ballad echoes the same sentiment Robinson's Llwhen has when her heart breaks on the battlefield, namely, a soldier's most fitting memorial is not physical but emotional, that mental or emotional freedom must supersede physical freedom. The final quatrain of "Address. Supposed to have been spoken by an Army leaving the Coasts of England" dismisses "our pale relics" in favor of "a nation's fond sigh, / And each Englishman's heart" (29-32). Llwhen, too, neglects Gwyneth's "relics" on the battlefield because her "ghost," perhaps heart or soul, is a better monument to his glory and their love. The vocal, repeatable ballad that shares her broken heart and her decision to die is meant to eternally encapsulate Gwyneth's memory rather than physical artifacts, hence women poets' insistence on aligning their new ballads with quoted speech and sometimes mnemonic qualities. Sargant places this same sentiment in the mouths of male soldiers who prefer that "each Englishman's heart be our grave" (32). Words like "heart," "sigh," "home," and "tear" blend with the currency of panegyric language like "warrior," "Valor," and "Justice" to reconsider both the male and by extension female responses to war (9,16, 24, 27).

Unlike these marching men, however, Anna never ventures to the battlefield; thus "Ballad" relinquishes relics and memorials altogether in favor of print interventions that dramatize war's effect on mind and body. The absent setting of the battlefield is represented by repeated long dashes, occasional panegyric language, and the final effect of loss on Anna's mind. The repeated long dashes in this poem, often seen in Sargant's contemporary Hemans's work, absorb the shock of reality that Anna can no longer

endure by the end of this poem. The "foreign seas–" are more menacing than "Ballad" initially describes as the vessel ultimately returns half empty, an early warning carved out in punctuation. Similarly, the lines "the fatal signal waves –" and "the vessel comes in sight – / She hails the well-known sail" suggest the familiarity with fatality and loss readers are almost immune to after decades of war (77, 93-4).[31] Yet when Anna is confronted with death, her broken heart is linked to a "break" in "reason," cleverly enhanced by an enjambment – a sudden break – between quatrains that dramatizes the mental break more forcibly than the sailor's physical one (121-28). Alongside these dashes and pauses Sargant, perhaps ironically, continues to repeat panegyric language like "Hope" and "gallant" long after the sailor's death and Anna's debilitating madness. The repeated long dashes conceal the reality behind ominous naval flags and ships, and they leave empty spaces on the page that may allude to wartime losses or emptiness. Even the sailor "sinks – to rise to more!" as his body is absorbed by symbolic dashes (104). Anna finally falls into madness, "to know no more / what 'tis to live and feel," but her "Hope lingers to the last" (121-2, 136). The earlier revolutionary hope of free minds is insufficient for Sargant's "Ballad," as Anna is unable to realize or accept loss like Mary and Llwhen. Her heart has betrayed her mind, further suggested in the long dash following and elongating the implications of "reason knew no more;–" (126). The long dashes seem to conceal the gruesome truth of war and instead embody the "break[ing]" effect war has on women who are left with unfulfilled "watchings," like Anna whose final "insensible" speech is filled with more dashes and pauses (114).

Anna's final and "insensible" speech in "Ballad" represents the frustration and perseverance female voices undergo during war. Anna's final five speech stanzas that lead to the poem's conclusion are meant to parallel her earlier assertions of love and constancy to the sailor. Contrasted with her earlier dialogue, however, Anna's last words reveal the irrevocable devastation of war.

> XXXIX.
> "E'en death were sweet, but that I know
> My love will soon return;
> This heart will then forget to ache –
> These pulses cease to burn." (153-6)

Without the earlier referents of blue-bells, rocks, and sun, the ballad's pace is slowed and renewed attention given to women's speech. Rather than recapping the war itself, Sargant lingers in the winding speech of a woman driven mad by war. Though the madwoman is a common wartime trope, Sargant includes her voice at length in order to directly hear from and empathize with Anna instead of leaving her labeled "maniac" (128). Though "She heard his cry, she saw him sink," Anna's earlier "hope" remains as does her voice, implying the continued role of women in wartime and home-front songs (125, 49, 136). The parallelism lessens – bluebells become "simple flow'rs" and the sun's "cheering beams" become an internal "burn" – but this final speech ensures the woman's broken mind and heart are not overlooked in the aftermath of war and song (131, 30). Because Anna's death is only wished for and not described to conclude her story, readers are then invited in the penultimate stanza to hope that she "May find a peaceful grave" (160).

Here, Sargant ends "Ballad" on a striking and even more empathetic note, revealing opportunities to build upon existing ballads through female speech.

The final two quatrains of "Ballad" wrench the focus away from Anna's broken mind and signal the most radical revision of the ballad in this poem: a second female speaker who builds upon the ballad tale for her own purpose, much like Romantic ballad imitations by women. Until the last stanza, when Anna's final song elicits an empathetic response, the narrator has only described and commented unobtrusively from afar. But in the final quatrain a first-person narrator is inserted by lamenting "The heart that mourns *thy* bitter lot" (161, emphasis added). As I have explored, this type of personal address gets taken up wholesale by Felicia Hemans ten years later and is often used to keep the addressee – in this case Anna – in the foreground of the poem. Seemingly female, this surprise narrator seeks, to no avail, "repose" and "solace" just "like *thee*," Anna (162-164, emphasis added). The narrator models empathy for Anna, guiding readers to hear, to connect with the pervasive issue of women being destroyed by war both emotionally and mentally. Moreover, when the concluding narrator speaks directly to Anna and to readers, she "becomes a participant in the theater of private, female individuals coming together to form a public critically reflecting on issues of common concern" (Edgar 130). The common concern is that of hearing, printing, and acknowledging female speech, particularly during war when battle chants and historical feats frame the mostly male spheres of politics and literature. The final speaker also represents the possibility for an oral feedback loop, a re-telling of Anna's "bitter lot" beyond the scope of "Ballad." Sargant's interest in printing a ballad with such oral components suggests an underlying

fear that print's "permanence," as explained by Atkinson, may be weakened by war. During the twenty-year conflict with France, print underwent countless censorship laws, public trials, and suspicion. In fact, the year Sargant's collection of poems was printed, habeas corpus was suspended yet again over fears of rebellion against the government's refusal to reform various laws. Public meetings and printings of meeting minutes or other reform-minded material halted altogether, even in the following years.[32] Therefore, returning layers of speech and mnemonic structures like parallelism to the ballad is a return to devices that can survive and be easily repeated by others outside of print, if necessary. The abrupt first-hand ending of "Ballad" proposes the possibility for other responses to and revisions of the ballad, making space for other voices to participate in ballad production orally or in print.

Layered Voices

Similarly, Robinson's "Bosworth Field" delights in surprising readers with multiple, sudden speakers who intertwine women's war stories with male soldiers and national events. In the opening, a disembodied voice accosts a wanderer "o'er the moonlight heath" (1). As in "Llwhen and Gwyneth" these quatrains are filled with quotation marks, particularly because the wanderer engages the disembodied voice in the eighth stanza, resulting in a Wordsworthian conversation from which the reader can extract information. The wanderer asks, "What art thou, slowly gliding by, / With snowy robe, and glaring eye?" (29-30). Slowly it adds up that this setting is littered with ghosts. Like Coleridge's mariner, one ghost with "glaring eye" speaks again and at length, urging

its listener to "hear my mournful strain" (37). The disembodied song slowly gains ground – and reverses the "impersonality" common to ballads – through questions and answers as well as the repeated "Listen!" a half-address that manifests ghosts and wanderer. These diverse personalities are introduced through dialogue, though it is the uncanny speaker who slowly unravels the ballad's setting and theme of "our clashing halberts bright" (5). The speaking ghost acts as historian and participant as it finally locates both wanderer and reader on Bosworth Field, site of a pivotal battle that overthrew the House of York in 1485 (Jones). The ghost spends several stanzas relating how

> "the *flow'r* of England's pride,
> Wading through a purple tide,
> Forc'd the ranks the tyrant led
> O'er the heaps of mighty dead!" (444-447 emphasis added).

Captains and nobles are listed, "Norfolk! Oxford! Pembroke!" as the ghost repeats key words like "flow'r," "tyrant," and various shades of blood (49, 44, 46, 53, 62). The dialogue stages the surprising and symbolic triumph of a "flow'r" despite tremendous bloodshed. As in several imitative ballads circulating in the Romantic period, war is a just reaction of typically gentle people against a "tyrant," consequently creating a space for British valor to shine out. The ghostly setting fades away as the dialogue focuses on historical events that led to "England's boast," including individual and perhaps overlooked acts of bravery (50).

After this panegyric history lesson, Robinson further surprises readers with active heroines hiding in the battlefield. To try to calm the "Start[led]" listener, the speaker-

ghost turns the historical narrative personal by revealing "my cheek so deadly pale, / Once the fairest freshest *flow'r*…Peerless Bertha was my name" (61-64, emphasis added). For over sixty lines a woman, albeit a ghost, has been speaking to us through this ballad. Not only is she allowed the responses Hemans's warrior is not, but Bertha also cleverly introduces herself first with common physical details before giving her name and affiliation with the battle. Suddenly revising the historical and martial focus of the ballad shocks readers as Bertha now becomes "the flow'r of England's pride," like the battle commander Henry Tudor, later King Henry VII. (44). Indeed, she alludes to her active role during war by singing of "*our* clashing halberts bright" and "*our* hosts, in hostile pride" (5, 7 emphasis added). In addition to the pronoun "our," Robinson pairs Bertha and Henry Tudor with the same term, "flow'r," suggesting men's and women's similar relationship to war. "Bosworth Field" initially reminds readers of a famous and pivotal military victory for England, staging a dialogue between past and present in the form of ghost and wanderer. The assertion of a woman speaker and historian momentarily tears attention away from celebrating history to recording women's speech. Jacqueline Labbe similarly argues that Charlotte Smith's *The Emigrants* is a "rejection of history" for "personal history," causing both to "become public property" when printed (53). "Bosworth Field" too makes public, or records, women's experiences and point of view during war. Further, the ballad moves away from those that merely taught history as the tale becomes "unthreatened by historical fact" and focuses on a personal account (Labbe 53). Robinson can move beyond the facts of Bosworth Field because she asserts, like Hemans and Sargant, personality or individuality through speech acts in ballads.

Still, Robinson harnesses the authority of Bosworth Field and the many texts that that treated it before as a means of validating related accounts by women.[33] Robinson's ghostly Bertha now adds to her historical speech act a verbal record of love similar to that of Mary and Llwhen. Bertha "rave[d] / O'er my mangled lover's grave" after following "Gallant Hubert" to war (96-97, 66). Bertha's quoted song redevelops the trope of women dying of broken hearts on the battlefield – like Maria and Mary of Carron noted earlier – into an act of heroism and preservation. Bertha spends several stanzas relating Hubert's beauty and, like Llwhen, asserts "Perfect was my Hubert's *mind*, / Train'd to arms, by love refin'd!" (72-73 emphasis mine). The song-like trochees, instead of the iambs in Robinson's earlier ballads, fit well with the national theme since such ballads were often sung. Yet when this trochaic meter continues to be applied to the woman's personal experience with war, trochees help bring the individual, romantic tale onto the same level of national history. Like Hemans's ballad, it is the perseverance of love during war, and the need to protect the freedom of the mind, that Robinson's speaking women ultimately assert. Bertha and Mary seem to struggle with an onset of madness after their losses, a trope Sargant later models, yet their speeches convey contemporary tension surrounding war and glory. Shielded by the antiquated setting, an undercurrent of criticism runs in Bertha's narrative when she finishes her list of Hubert's accolades with "Hapless plumes! Ye wave no more, / Hubert's crest is drench'd in gore!" (86-7). All of his beauty and his accomplishments have failed. For a brief moment, women's speech questions the ability for "Perfect…mind" and "love refin'd" to triumph over the brutality of war, even if it is war for the sake of free minds and bodies.

In revising the wartime ballad, women poets aimed to not only preserve women's speech but their motivations as well, such as mental freedom and love. As Felicia Hemans's war poems do three decades later, Robinson's female speaker in "Bosworth Field" has resigned her fate to "love" instead of unconquerable, merciless war. Love is a prerequisite to be able to both understand and to "tell" Bertha's story, her "parting throb" (90). In the end she admonishes the wanderer with "Who my parting throb can tell? / Who, but those that love as well?" (90-91). The romantic and martial song is now the property of readers and other speakers who know and can appropriately "tell" of love. Love is the reason Bertha and the wanderer or would-be singer have chosen to stay on the field; Bertha asserts "Nightly will I glide along…For, perchance, amidst the throng / Hubert's shade shall catch the song" (100-105). As the ghostly legions re-enact the Battle of Bosworth Field each night, so does Bertha's ghost call out to her beloved. Further, her unanswered question to the wanderer, a counterpart of the opening dialogue, leaves the possibility for her song to be shared beyond the scope of Robinson's ballad and the field. Bertha still tells her "tale" to anyone who will hear and readers become the wanderer filled with "tears," not because of the "valiant" military exploits accomplished on that field, but because of the "love" repeated in these final stanzas that has endured the pain of war and centuries of history (60, 54, 113). For Bertha, mental powers and love have outlasted the destruction of war and of the body, at least for her part. This argument, with its ideological roots in French Revolutionary debate, overtakes the panegyric history lesson that relates the victorious battle alone. The woman, perpetually affected by war, celebrates its national victory but more forcibly asserts the power of her love to endure

the pangs of war and death and still repeat the song. The woman becomes more than historian in this ballad: her speech act gives her the opportunity to reveal her personal relationship to war which is left behind in most ballad collections and imitations in the Romantic period. Robinson's ballad structure of gradual revelations and layered dialogue signals the primary interest of women poets' engagement with and manipulation of the ballad.

Conclusion

The ballads in this chapter, I argue, imitate the antiquarian passion for collecting and collating old ballads while hybridizing new texts with mnemonic devices, a framework of female speech, and opportunities for continued ballad variants, all reciprocal realities between print and orality that scholarly ballad editions theoretically hampered. By retaining these traces of oral informants and variation, balladeering women like Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant kept the form firmly rooted in women's voices as an important means of transmission. The vanishing mouths of milkmaids are thus made integral to singing about and preserving war throughout the twenty-two years of conflict between England and France. Particularly, the three poets discussed here revisit the wide-ranging French Revolutionary debates about free bodies and minds, speech inciting action, and speakers connecting to audiences. As such debates are placed in women's mouths or bodies in these ballads, the exclusion of women from war and politics is criticized, ironically, in the typically masculine genre of the battlefield ballad. In the following chapter, these three poets turn from the battlefield to the home front, where

they fashion a new poetic form for the domestic war tale that embodies women's voices and experiences. The interest in free minds is further developed in domestic poems to break down the theoretical barrier between the private home and public battles or debates. From periodicals to collected poems, war ballads – especially those by women – develop layers of speech and memorable structures that help unite women with war. Along the way, the hierarchy of war that only momentarily uses personal and domestic settings as backdrops or as fodder for wartime critiques is inverted. Instead, authors like Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant prioritize women's "love" and broken "heart" as motivating factors for women's often political speech and activity during war. Their physical activity and speech acts restore women as ballad heroines and singers so that war is seen from their points of view.

CHAPTER III

"SO DISTANT AND SO DEAR": RECONSTRUCTING THE HOME IN WOMEN'S HOME-FRONT POETRY

The battlefield's counterpart is typically considered the home front, a space where civilians at once support servicemen's efforts and are protected by them while policymakers try to direct the outcome of war from afar. But what is the home front and how is it manifested in war poetry? Though the *Oxford English Dictionary* makes no mention of the term "home front" before 1917, the same notion that a nation's population is "another front in a consolidated war effort" is found throughout Romantic poems and periodicals. In place of "home front" in Romantic texts are comparable terms like "domestic safety" and "Britannia" that link civilians to the war effort abroad. Civilians at home were almost always imagined as families – mainly women and children – that either inspire, wither under, or are protected by war efforts; each instance becomes a trope used to celebrate or castigate war.[34] Newspaper reports used "domestic safety" to refer to England's physical integrity during war, to "blessings" bestowed on civilians, and to "your property [and] your families' lives."[35] This broad application of "domestic safety" seems to contribute to contemporary expectations of "domestic poetry," a genre that an 1817 essay – "State and Character of Literature in Great Britain" – says "describes the feelings, habits, and pleasures, of domestic life" but causes readers

to “see more” behind such descriptions (17). Monica Correa Fryckstedt more recently defined the domestic genre in nineteenth-century novels as one that “glorified the values of family and home” with a deeper “moral message” for readers (9, 25). Because families and homes were often intertwined with soldiers and battlefield morale in Romantic war texts, the genre of the domestic poem can be expanded. This chapter seeks to explore and challenge understandings of the domestic poem and its treatment of the space of the home when set against a backdrop of war. To that end, I use the terms “home-front poem” to define poems that use warlike language to describe families or their homes and “domestic” to refer to the space of the supposedly secluded home often nestled in a rural countryside.

John Tosh’s study of the nineteenth-century middle-class home traces the subordination of “martial qualities” to “domestic virtues” back to poetry of the 1790s, which partly contributed to the later “sanctification of the home” that Tosh claims appeared most fervently in the Victorian era (29). However, this chapter finds that those “martial qualities” did not completely disappear from domestic poetry but instead merged with descriptions of homes and families. Far from the separate spheres ideology that opposed the home with commerce or politics, Romantic writers, in part because of prolonged war, strived for balance between domestic descriptions that painted the home as a secluded retreat and as a public exemplum for civilian attitudes. In other words, if the treasured home directly supported or influenced war efforts, then the home was in turn susceptible to war’s changes, even destruction. Linda Fleming finds that domestic education – largely for and by women – was built upon a goal to educate and better

society at large. Similarly, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall reveal in their social history *Family Fortunes* that the public sphere of "rational activity [and] market forces" – under which I would certainly place engagement with war and politics – relied on the moral and emotional resources of the home for its virtue and success (13). Not only did comfort and religious education stem from the private domestic sphere, but many households physically supported the family business by acting as bookkeepers or pro bono employees. Still, the conceptual separation of each space was preferred perhaps because it suggested to many readers and writers that England was secure economically, physically, and morally despite great political tension.[36] Indeed, Fryckstead claims that the domestic genre "reminded readers of what in retrospect seemed a more stable society in which men and women had their given roles," or, as Frauke Lenckos states, the genre "reassured readers at least in idealistic terms of the inviolability of the sacred institutions of family, peace, home, and fatherland" (135). In a wide range of domestic poetry during the war years, however, the ideology of "spatial and temporal quarantine between the public and the private" spheres fails and gender roles change (Davidoff and Hall 319). Instead, in the "home-front" poems by women examined below, the mutual dependency between these spaces, so conceived, comes to the fore to contend with notions of separateness and safety.

A brief glance at how different periodical poems situated the home alongside battlefield events or political debates will further reveal the popular, and polarized, tactics for domestic poetry during the war years that Mary Robinson, Felicia Hemans, and Jane Alice Sargant manipulate. First, patriotic poems often invoked the home as the primary

impetus not only for a country to go to war, but to sustain war. Fathers, brothers, and sons on the battlefield or sea were painted not only as achieving famous feats, but by extension protecting their beloved domestic joys and memories as well. Other speakers or soldier characters were directly inspired by those domestic joys and the fact that military service was all that stood between their front door and familiar faces and bloody invasion or oppression. For instance, many patriotic songs like "A Family Dialogue" asserted that men must follow "war's alarms" in order to protect "The comforts of your native place" (lines 28, 16) or, as "Britons, to Arms" exclaims, "shield [home] from the Son of Rapine" (24). Even odes "To Peace" – including one by Helen Maria Williams – worry about the safety of "the peasant's hapless bower" (13) and at times admit that the soldier's "blood shall consecrate his native soil" (20). In such poems, the home is considered vulnerable but still perfectly intact as long as soldiers complete their duty, drawing inspiration and hope from faraway domestic "comforts." Another periodical poem speaks from a soldier's perspective, remembering the beautiful "fields where in childhood I wander'd" and favorite "spots" in his "village." His farewell speech in "The Soldier's Adieu" then concludes with the assertion that "I'll still be defending…for thee will I strive" (1, 5, 21). The fight to protect the home and its values often leads to memories of a happier past and rural settings like fields and bowers. In fact, to understand domestic poetry in the Romantic period, one must be "a lover of the beauties of nature, or of the occupations and pleasures of country life," according to the 1817 essay noted above. Rural or natural descriptions – terms that I interchange below – thus appear throughout women's home-

front poetry in order to represent what must be protected or what has already been lost at home.

At the same time, the home was depicted as a ruin by poets who criticized war, its destruction brought on by the absence or death of loved ones serving abroad. The old, women, and children left behind are sometimes depicted as falling into financial and emotional despair. Such scenes supplemented and perhaps directly responded to newspaper reports of servicemen killed or drowned and urged readers to put home first, ahead of imperial ambitions and military prowess. In direct contrast to the songs and narratives noted above, a poet styling himself Philanthropos paints a nightmarish scene of household poverty in the 1794 "Effects of War," including "A wife, a mother…oft had she spar'd / The hard earn'd morsel from her famish'd lips; / To save her children" (29-31). A decade later, a "Song" from a small "beggar boy" in a similar situation sardonically repeats "An orphan now bereft of joy / I wander on…Yet still my bosom swells with pride, / My sire with *Nelson conquering* died" (21-24). The popular "Anna's Complaint" more explicitly argues that soldiers and their families would be "happier" if left "Toiling to sow his native fields" (41, 39). In these excerpts the home and its surrounding "fields" are scarcely recognizable in their decay or have disappeared altogether, creating a largely antiwar critique. Because we find the home in two extremes – a secluded space to save and a destroyed relic – the periodical poetry from the war years is a useful touchstone for exploring and better unpacking poets' more nuanced approaches to the wartime home. Particularly, women poets like Robinson, Hemans, and

Sargant filled the domestic poem with warlike language and changing rural scenes, which recast the family's – especially women's – relationship to political conflict.

In this chapter I will explore the figure of the domestic woman and descriptions of rural nature that surround her home, arguing that they both shift in and out of public and private spheres during the Romantic war years. For instance, rural or natural descriptions from streams to flowers to trees are at once common tropes in the domestic genre and yet merge with battlefields to become startling manifestations of war's pervasive effects. The poems below are organized by nature's role within them. A capacious and complex term, I use "nature" to refer to rural scenes that typically surround homes in domestic poetry, including details like trees and flowers. First, rural descriptions in Hemans's popular "Domestic Affections" fail to protect or inspire civilians and soldiers alike, but such descriptions do reveal women's connection to wartime events. Then, Robinson's "The Widow's Home" and Sargant's "The Disbanded Soldier's Lament" use warlike language to create rural scenes, revealing striking connections between home and battlefield. As oak trees and streams are deployed to debunk the myth that the domestic sphere is protected by war, natural descriptions still serve to fortify the minds and emotions of families left behind during war. Thus, Robinson's and Sargant's texts consider the state of the mind, particularly of memory, on the home front. Memories of war or of those lost during war are further framed by natural details in Robinson's "On Seeing a Rose" and Helen Maria's Williams' "Hymn Written in the Alps." In the latter half of the chapter, rural nature becomes a guide for mourning characters in Robinson's "The Deserted Cottage." The chapter comes full circle to end with Hemans's poems from *Records of*

Woman, a collection that solidified her position as the Poet of Domesticity. Surprisingly, these later war poems revise the failure of rural descriptions seen in "Domestic Affections." Instead, "Joan of Arc, In Rheims" and "The Switzer's Wife" house characters who are inspired by nature to take part in war – a bit like those patriotic poems noted above – and nature now survives and triumphs over war. Hemans's shifts may be due to her savvy navigation of the literary marketplace or to a reassessment of war's effects on women and their homes, long after threats of invasion and death have vanished.[37] In each of these texts, variations to the formal structure of the domestic poem – including changes to rhyme and spacing as well as fusing forms like the ballad with elegiac couplets – further dramatize the tension surrounding the separate spheres ideology, particularly during war. I argue specifically that women poets experimented with military language, natural or rural description from all physical senses, and formal variation in home-front poems to make explicit the closeness and connection between front line events and home-front efforts.

When Nature Fails

Tosh's study touches on the popularity of Hemans's "Domestic Affections" well into the Victorian period, claiming that the speaker's yearning for home "was reflected in the homecoming rituals of middle-class homes" (32). However, Hemans's tangled language of rural beauty and bloody battle reveals instead that the home is no longer a safe retreat. The poem's initial aim is to adulate the private, domestic sphere and offer it as a respite even in tough times, but there are cracks in this construction. War and death

scenes intervene so that Hemans ends only being able to offer consolations of a heavenly, not earthly, home. "Domestic Affections" begins by enveloping the home in a rural space that is "shade[d]" and "seclu[ded]," as if repeating such words will keep out the later details of war and death (19, 22). Indeed, Tosh convincingly articulates the nineteenth-century desire for domestic "seclusion, refuge and repose in as rural an ambience as possible" (35). In addition to Hemans's secluded rural scene with "loveliest blooms, / And softer sun-shine," she uses similes to strengthen the link between the home and the nature that surrounds it, a strategy we will see her and Sargant continue later (39-40). In the third stanza, Hemans compares the secluded, sturdy home to a survivor of terrifying storms.

> As, when dread thunder shakes the sky,
> The cherub, infancy, can close its eye
> And sweetly smile, unconscious of a tear,
> While viewless angels wave their pinions near. (27-30)

Thus, the "calm abode" so far from "life's tumultuous road" is as protected as children are by angels during any impending threat (in this case of weather) (23-24). Already the seed of Hemans's ending exclamation that there are "More pure, more perfect…affections" in the "Elysian clime" appear in this early simile (428-9, 423). However, the poem initially secures the home in a space that is not only beautiful and secluded, but that can withstand its own "thunder" and storms. But this self-sufficiency does not last, as this chapter finds within many domestic poems written during war. By the time "Domestic Affections" was published in 1812, Napoleon had risen violently to power, threatened invasion, and embroiled Europe and the East in another decade of

war.[38] In the midst of this constant turmoil, fifteen-year old Felicia Hemans wrote in an 1808 letter to her aunt that her "whole heart and soul are interested for the gallant patriots, and though females are forbidden to interfere in politics, yet as I have a dear, dear brother, at present on the scene of actions, I may be allowed to feel some ardour" (Wolfson 475). Already keenly tuned into wartime news and to her accepted female role within it, Hemans's letter points to overlapping spaces of gender, battle, and voice that influence her later poetry.

Similarly, to return to the third stanza of "Domestic Affections," Hemans's verse quickly moves into a more explicit discussion of the current war with Napoleon. The rural scene and storm simile quoted above is not even given its own stanza, embodying a lack of seclusion or protection from outside events. Hemans then writes:

> Thus, while around the storms of discord roll,
> Borne on resistless wing, from pole to pole;
> While war's red lightnings desolate the ball,
> And *thrones* and empires in destruction fall;
> Then, calm as evening on the silvery wave,
> When the wind slumbers in the ocean-cave,
> She dwells, unruffled, in her bow'r of rest,
> *Her* empire, home! – her *throne*, affection's breast! (31-8, emphasis added on "throne")

Another natural simile is used to describe the home's "calm" and "unruffled" security during times of conflict. But between these similes, "war" is explicitly named alongside vivid, "desolate" descriptions of falling empires, which may here represent actual conflict with Napoleon and not metaphorical "thunder" as above. The final simile includes a woman presiding over the home who is likened to the calm natural description

surrounding her; however, "war's red lightnings" and "destruction" that interrupt the natural scenes and similes in this stanza betray the assertion that women and the home are "unruffled." Already, early in the poem, the home and women are implicitly threatened and connected with war. "[S]torms" both real and metaphorical enter the supposedly secluded sphere, which is a vulnerable, even public, "throne" itself. In fact, Hemans uses the same word "throne" for the private home at the end of the stanza and for public conflict a few lines above, a repetition that suggests these seemingly opposite spaces share the same threats. "Domestic Affections," from the Poet of Domesticity, reflects the mutual dependence between home and market as outlined by Davidoff and Hall and others. Just as the spheres are linked in practice, in practice the private realm is no safer than the public it is supposedly a haven from, especially during times of war. Still, several assertions about the home's "joys" and stability follow these repeated references to war: "Thro' toil we struggle, or thro' distance we rove, / To *thee* [the home] we turn, still faithful…our magnet-star" (77-80). This is the section Tosh excerpts to reveal the increasing "penchant" for the "idealized home" (25) in the nineteenth-century literary marketplace and in the middle-class home, but the "wearied pilgrim" envisioned in these lines is away from home – at one point he is "on the martial field" – and only able to access its restorative gifts in memory (75, 81).

In fact, until the concluding shift to mother and ill child, most of Hemans's examples about the vital role of the home center on those serving in or escaping conflict abroad; the home fills their mind and memory as a "magnet-star" (80). Though far, these presumably male figures are compelled to remember rural details from home, like "the

vales with bloom and sun-shine grac'd," which create a respite from "rude tumultuous cares" and "war-songs" (247, 73, 149). These figures make clear that fields and flowers are bound up with memories of home, but this rural nature begins to change as war and "rude alarms" drag on, making memories of home less comforting and perhaps more difficult to protect (147). For instance, nature becomes "rude" and "barren" as exiles and seamen travel further from home (193, 201). When one soldier does return home, the stanza describes "a fairy scene" with "sylphid forms" rather than the earlier recollected details of sunshine and flowers, which suggests the soldier's time away at war has changed or distanced him from rural scenes (156-7). Whether idealized or hostile, "Domestic Affections" briefly describes nature differently when applying it to war-torn figures. About halfway through the poem, a vivid naval battle and shipwreck cause the final crack in the construction that home can support us from anywhere, even in war. Importantly, the speaker asks a question instead of making an assertion: "Can war's dread scenes the hallow'd ties efface, / Each tender thought, each fond remembrance chase?" (111-2). With this sudden question, housed in a shortened stanza, the poem's repeated tension between rural scenes and war scenes breaks. In the middle of the poem the page suddenly embodies doubt, doubt that the domestic sphere can support civilians and soldiers alike and keep its rural beauty in tact during war.

Nature Merges Home and Battlefield

In fact, the domestic sphere gets conflated with the battlefield when the same rural descriptions that surround a home or cottage are applied to a faraway scene of death. While the home may be the focal point and initiator of the domestic poem, when it

contends for printed space with battlefield events rural nature helps poets reveal that domestic details and joys like flowers or children playing are no longer their own, private realm. Part of the appeal of the separate spheres ideology, according to Davidoff and Hall, was "the celebration of the rural and the belief in the home as haven from the market" (20). Women's war poetry, however, often uses nature to conflate the home front and front lines as in Mary Robinson's "The Widow's Home" from her 1800 *Lyrical Tales*. Sensory details fill nearly every line of this poem, from the house on the edge of "a brawling brook…O'ershadowed by broad Alders" (1-3) to the final image of "The Widow's tear bathing the living rose" (105). These beautiful scenes, however, are made ominous by Robinson's choice of descriptors and her sudden shifts. For instance, at one point the widow's young son walks by the water under the "**rosy** day-**beam**…chaunt[ing] his father's ditty" (71-5). The setting of the boy's calm "sea-shore" excursion is then immediately interrupted by a description of the battlefield where his father lies dead (69). On the ravaged battlefield too, "The morning **beam** shines **lust'rous** [and] the meek **flow'r** still drops the twilight tear" as the boy witnesses in his vale (94-6). These symmetrical natural details, in bold here, bookend the same long stanza in order to encase the home and battlefield in a shared space.

The repetition of morning light, flowers, and breeze yoke the home to the battlefield, though the characters are unaware of how connected they are to the soldier they anxiously await. Only in awareness of the soldier's death, that speaker and readers are privy to, does nature make clear the connection between both spaces. On the other hand, the descriptions reveal the home- front characters' underlying feelings that, for

them, war is never far away. Collapsing the space, thanks to shared language, does provide more room for Robinson to comment on the soldier as well as the mother and son who initiated the poem. In the same lengthy stanza, the speaker steps back from presenting rural details and instead laments that father and son "Never more" will meet (83). More than this loss is the lack of proper monument the father-soldier is given; "His very name / Is now forgotten! For no trophied tomb / Tells of his bold exploits" (87-9). Thus, rural descriptions have led the speaker back to the battlefield and to death. As I explore in the next chapter, elegies often use natural details like trees as replacement headstones that at once attempt to compensate for loss and encourage remembrance of war.

"The Widow's Home" similarly makes a memorial out of the home by balancing rural description with political language that together dramatize the home's public role during war. Unlike most of Wordsworth's verses in the contemporaneous *Lyrical Ballads,* as Ashley Cross notes, Robinson's poems in *Lyrical Tales* make explicit the changing status of the home, from private retreat to public war zone. As Robinson's symmetrical rural details, within a single stanza, bring home and battlefield into the same location on the page, the narrator also contests the unequal treatment of public and private, hero and family during the war years. If the humble country soldier is "forgotten" by all except his family, and no grave but sun and flowers mark his service, then the rich "ambition's slaves" who do receive "gilded" monuments are overlooked by or disconnected from such natural details and perhaps from the home itself; their showy memorials enter the public sphere alone, sans nature (88-92). In this view, part of the

home-front poem's duty is to redraw the lines of connection between civilians and servicemen, regardless of class. The ever-widening class distinctions in this period, particularly amongst working and middle classes, created tension between displays of wealth and a religious commitment to helping others (Davidoff and Hall 319). To combat such tension, "The Widow's Home" prioritizes the domestic sphere's rural gifts, including the bond between "childhood and nature," which Tosh finds central to domestic verse in the Romantic period (40). In fact, the speaker soon concludes by repeating the opening rural descriptions of the widow's cottage as signs of wealth, with "the wide alder-bough …and plumy choir"; at last these details are reflected on by the speaker who finds them "Welcome" and "dearer" because they house "Heav'n's best gifts – / The mind unshackled, and the guiltless soul!" (98-110). Because of its proximity to rural nature, and nature's ability to connect home and battlefield, the home is painted as an exemplum of virtue. Even the rather militant newspaper, *The Anti-Gallican Review*, pointed out that "domestic security favored the cultivation of knowledge, and the progress of intellectual excellence," further merging the home's status as a private retreat and public model.[39]

While Robinson concludes that the home still offers public "gifts," particularly of virtue and knowledge, Hemans's "Domestic Affections" two decades later dramatizes the increased difficulty of accessing or securing these gifts during war. Instead, Hemans continues to infect the home with war by pairing contrasting words in a shared line. An example of such pointed line sharing comes at the end of stanza three, discussed above as an early instance of war imagery taking over rural details and similes. The stanza

concludes with the line "*Her* empire, home! – her throne, affection's breast" (38). In the shared space of a single line, private and public places merge. This syntactical structure of contrasting words and punctuation also reflects the growing physical changes in the middle-class home, where separate rooms were being created for a variety of activities and items, some "more public than others," which undermines the separate spheres ideology (Davidoff and Hall 319). In the poem, the home and related affections are briefly given public power, like that of an "empire" or king, as well as a corresponding, typically male duty to keep their realm safe.[40] Still, the multiple types of punctuation across the single line, particularly the long dash, add to the inherent tension between these different places. Readers must pause repeatedly as the line forces a connection between "empire," "home," and "*Her*." With characteristic italics, Hemans emphasizes womanhood and links women with realms of public power.[41] On the page and in practice, however, the "contradictory demands" on women – of household organization and public subordination – suggest the tenuous unity of these spaces, just as much of the poem alternates between rural and war scenes (Davidoff and Hall 396). The contrasting words in this line that attempt to describe womanhood during war, surprisingly, are more abstract and political than the rural scenes and similes above. Momentarily, the woman is removed from the typically secluded, rural home and surrounded with empires. Her source of power (or perhaps her "gifts" in Robinson's term) stems from the broad influences of her heart, "affection's breast," which we will see in more detail in *Records of Woman*. When rural descriptions return in the next line, they not only mirror the woman's role reversal, but are connected instead to a male figure during war.

The end of Hemans's fourth stanza more explicitly links natural scenes, typically found around secluded rural homes in domestic verse, to war. Again, the final couplet ends with "His throne, the billow – and his flag, the storm" (56). The parallelism between these gendered lines is astounding. The natural scene, more specifically "Stern winter [with] his signal-torch," is termed masculine and immediately given a warlike presence (52-3). Indeed, this description is followed by other scenes of "oppress[ion]," "wasting toil," and "the martial field" in the next stanza (73, 69, 81). But this concluding line pits the earlier woman and her "empire" against the male "storm," made warlike with "flag" and "throne." As natural details like snow and wind become warlike, the home and memories of its shaded or sunny scenes move farther, "distance[d]" from the wandering pilgrim and solider (78). Again, in this line Hemans repeats certain words and the exact punctuation used above, which conveys the predicament nature, gender, and the home experience during war. The male version of rural nature – winter – attempts to protect, and perhaps unintentionally threatens, the domestic space of the home led by the woman figure. Further, the flags and chargers found in many periodical songs celebrating England's prowess are subtly used here to describe a rural, domestic scene, which I trace back to Robinson's 1790s poetry below.

Repeated textual tactics like syntax, punctuation, and gendered language reveal that the spaces of home and war are inextricably bound together. Even the final line of "Domestic Affections" embodies the difficultly the home has in offering any immediate security during war. The home should be "Exalting rapture – not assuaging woe" (432). The final long dash embodies the war and other threats describe above, which blunted

any early comforts or "rapture" such as rural beauty. Parallelism, long dashes, and contrasting words in single lines outline the textual tactics available to poets when merging home and battlefield. These brief moments in the text help initiate cracks in the expected celebration of domestic values and rural scenes, ultimately blaming war for the fractured home. Still, Hemans's poem returns to its initial aim to showcase the home's power to protect and console. One consolation the speaker attempts, besides the final one of heaven, is seen in many home-front poems written by women: memory. As the "pilgrim" noted a moment ago yearns for home, Hemans writes that his "Unfetter'd thought still roves to bliss and thee [the home]!" (82). Subtly contrasting the free-thinking mind with the physical constraints imposed during times of conflict, Hemans roots this wartime trope of memory or remembrance under the home's influence. The following stanza concludes that this "thought" travels "swift[ly]" "To the lov'd scene, so distant, and so dear" (95-6). Embodying memory, the concluding line attempts to collapse the physical and mental distance from home with the words "distant" and "dear" on the same line.

Militarized Nature

Not only is Hemans's "Unfetter'd thought" a descendant of Robinson's "mind unshackled," discussed in the next section, but Robinson similarly merges home and battlefield spaces in her 1790s poetry by militarizing nature. As the rural scene around the mother and son's cottage in "The Widow's Home" is likened to "warfare" and "watch-tow'r," Robinson reveals how pervasive wartime language and events have become; they have infiltrated the once private and protected domestic sphere (61, 58).

The brook in the first line is "brawling," not bawling or babbling, but actively fighting with the otherwise calm scene around it "with ozier canopy" (1, 4). Robinson creates constant tension between calm and tumult in such word choice. Even the choir of birds is at first "shrill and wild," then appears to "merrily" greet guests (12, 14). To set the rural home in this way not only foreshadows the father's death but militarizes rural scenes and activities, a rhetorical shift seen throughout the poem. When the detailed domestic sketch turns to the little boy, his actions and surroundings are more explicitly warlike. For instance, he has a "watch-tow'r" instead of a simple tree or bower and this "blasted oak" look-out is for several lines compared to "a savage bold" (58-61). The boy, however, is not described as "savage" or warlike, though it appears that way on a first reading. Once the tree he often uses is militarized, the speaker pays closer attention to the boy's actions. In his "savage" "watch-tow'r" the boy is acting out the war that has detained his long-awaited father. Indeed, he looks from the tree to the ocean, excited at the sight of every sail. His keen eye and look-out position, "skimming the bright horizon," echo military activity outlined in the newspapers (55).[42] But because Robinson's syntax directly compares the tree "to triumph like a savage bold, / Braving the season's warfare," rural nature can be read as representative of the absent soldier-father (60-61). The brave, triumphant tree has overcome "warfare" – in terms of weather and feared French invasion – a hopeful and yet terrifying sight. Militarizing nature allows Robinson to briefly bring war and its effects to the home front, which suggests both spaces are vulnerable and not protected in the way patriotic periodical poems promised.

The treasured, supposedly secluded Romantic home loses some of its idealized status as "The Widow's Home" militarizes nature, two topics that many periodical poems would have kept separate. Even the daylight, an important detail in explicitly linking father and son in the same stanza, is described as having a "short reign of sunny 81plendor [that] fades" (62). The boy is not only playing pretend war, he is enveloped by a scene poised to "reign" triumphantly and later withstand "warfare." His home is directly engaged with battlefield topics and language, suggesting the once-secluded rural home is undeniably linked to the space of war itself. As this stanza ends the boy sitting in his "watch-tow'r" takes out "his oaten pipe," a repeated detail that evokes pastoral poetry, particularly elegy. Robinson uses this emblem to denote wartime loss or change; while on look-out the pipe recalls a time "When he could only listen" and later the father's pipe "will ne'er again be heard – / Echoing along the valley!" (67, 82-3). War and death have intervened, preventing the poem from surrendering into more ideal rural scenes which might reinforce notions of the secluded home. The lengthy stanzas connect nearly every natural detail from sight to sound surrounding the widow's cottage to wartime change. The "oaten pipe" playing the soldier-father's song in the "savage" oak "watch tow'r" not only contrasts the rural home with war, but linking these terms forcibly unites the two spaces to suggest their irrevocable entanglement. Again, the didactic closing lines of "The Widow's Home" – characteristic of the domestic genre according to Fryckstedt (12)– return to the rural scene to find the "best gifts" are bestowed here: "The mind unshackled, and the guiltless soul!" (110). These gifts, or consolations for a lost father, seem to be products of the rural setting and the adversity mother and son struggle

through. But, as "Domestic Affections" asserts, such gifts – even free minds – cannot prevent war and death from constricting the domestic realm's promises. Both Robinson and Hemans alternate between warlike and idealized language in their home-front poems, which reinforces the reciprocal relationship between home and war.

The same attention to contrasting words and militarized nature that reflect the home's changes during war persist in Jane Alice Sargant's 1817 *Sonnets and Other Poems* collection. Sargant further takes a cue from the pilgrims and seamen in Hemans's "Domestic Affections" as she writes from the point of view of a soldier returning home. "The Disbanded Soldier's Lament" not only defines the domestic sphere more broadly by including church and local gatherings but disturbs the textual appearance of the domestic poem with fluctuating rhyme scheme and typography. The printed page then comes to embody changes and complications brought on by war. Initially the ex-soldier contemplates throwing away his cap in a pair of conversational ballad quatrains, which mimic the speech-filled ballads on the other pages of Sargant's collection as outlined in the previous chapter. Similarly, Sargant includes a footnote that places the soldier's speech in a public space, presumably the streets of London, where readers become eavesdropping passersby to his cry "What care have I of wind or show'r?" as he shifts into narrative couplets (4). The disbanded soldier frames the rest of his "Lament" with a detailed account of the Battle of Waterloo, but the alternating stanzaic structures reveal the difficulty in sharing these memories. He begins by describing his status, "Must I a soldier's name resign?" and realizing the value of protecting his "Mem'ry" in a series of ballad quatrains (6, 9). However, immediately following his pronouncement of memory's

"reign," his report of the morning of this decisive battle shifts into long couplet-stanzas. This early shift seems to be from a personal, conversational set of quatrains towards epic and emphatic couplets. The sound and tone change in order to reveal the shift to and significance of this wartime memory. The soldier's lengthy speech, framed with onlookers, also suggests his public location and subsequent decision about in what form he wants to be heard. In the quatrains, phrases like "methinks," "old friend," and "I grieve" prepare readers for an extended meditation, but battle scenes soon break up the meditation and the ballad form. In "The Disbanded Soldier's Lament," the shift in and out of ballad quatrains and couplets more fully embodies the unstable nature of war and poetic representations of it.

In the corresponding couplets, the soldier uses a set of more active and less contemplative verbs with forceful rhymes that cause readers to pause at the end of each line. Repeated close rhymes like "ris'n" and "riv'n" or "sighs" and "skies" with ending punctuation cause such words to be stamped into readers' minds the way the ex-soldier experiences his memories of Waterloo (17-21). Sargant's poem builds on these short, descriptive rhyming words in every consecutive couplet, a mountain of paired rhymes that at times connect both space of the home and of the battlefield to the same sound. Visual and aural imagery thus connect these seemingly separate spaces much like Robinson's militarized nature or Hemans's similes and shared lines. As I will continue to explore below, hands are "ris'n'" in England as lives are "riv'n" across the Channel in a way that collapses physical and printed space. Further, the end of the first couplet stanza abruptly places a single unrhymed word, "forsook," that will not find its mate until the

end of the second couplet stanza, “look” (19, 26). At first, it appears that the couplets’ intricacies and sounds merely signal the flashback to the day of Waterloo. However, ballad quatrains soon return to continue the disbanded soldier’s memory of the battle. This alternating stanza structure, shifting between two to four quatrains and then a lengthy set of couplets, contributes to the entire poem’s fast pace and its somewhat jarring layout on the printed page.

Sargant’s structural variations in this poem are further used to dramatize the relationship between domestic and battlefield events. The end rhymes “ris’n” and “riv’n” in the first couplet stanza help emphasize the contrast between civilians and soldier, possibly criticizing the rhetoric that urges war for “domestic security.” The *Oxford English Dictionary* traces the verb “rive” from early Scandinavia to mean tearing, rending, or pulling; the word could then be applied to the formal and topical tears in Sargant’s composition. The couplet stanza in fact begins in England, on the Sunday morning the Battle of Waterloo took place. In the “Church” hands raise to signal prayers and broken hearts, though these “heart[s] by anguish riv’n” allude also to the ‘riven’ or broken bodies on the battlefield the following couplets describe (17-18). For instance, one prayer is described as “A mother’s tender sighs, / For one already in the skies;” (20-21). The single couplet with punctuated, exact rhyme is one way of embodying the shocking juxtaposition between home front and battlefield. Mothers are praying on the day of battle at the same time their sons are killed; the brief comma pauses readers just long enough to dramatize the closeness in time of the actions while the word choice links both spaces. Religious comfort and protection that typically stem from the domestic

sphere are here quietly challenged. The emphasis of death and prayer – in "ris'n" and "riv'n" – also returns to the question of who is doing the protecting: is the home in ruins or are its gifts protected? Dying to save the home and loved ones is both patriotic impetus for war and pacifist critique, seen in countless periodical poems, which get blended in Sargant's choice of space and time. As in "The Widow's Home," war and the home front are united in an almost eerie way thanks to precise rhymed images and structural shifts. Even more explicit is the close of Sargant's first series of couplets: "And many a little hand was rais'd / In pray'r for one who then had gaz'd / His last expiring look" (24-26). Running over into a final, distinct line gives Sargant space to clarify the simultaneity of prayer and death. Indeed, this final line is the only instance in the poem of separated rhyming couplets; "forsook" ends the first couplet stanza and "look" ends the second couplet stanza. This brief variation delays the repeated sound and makes space for the speaker to clarify the soldiers are dying at the moment their families are praying.

Sounds also fill the couplets and quatrains that detail the Battle of Waterloo, a slight variation in the use of natural or rural description in women's home-front poetry. In long couplet stanzas, sounds from "Different tongues" and "whizzing" bullets are quickly piled on until the battlefield "Ring[s] with one commingled sound" (65-71). Throughout these suggestions of unity through sound, the ex-soldier's narrative goes on to recount the differing speeches of Napoleon and Wellington, but still unites them with similar foreboding language: "The star of Austerlitz is ris'n" and Wellington's later response that "this must be the hour" (50). In between these speeches are the loud "clashing" couplets and the quieter quatrains that gather the army in panegyric phrases like "we boldly stood"

and “our gallant band” (70, 73, 78). As Sargant soon switches back to couplets for the battle’s conclusion, descriptions briefly lose their penchant for sound and become more visual and, again, rural. In addition to the contrasting speeches from leaders and commingled languages of soldiers, Sargant compares Britain’s army to nature that is symbolic of their homeland. The ranks “must fall” like “the sturdy mountain oak / Fell’d by the unrelenting stroke” (82-4). The oak is often used as a symbol for England and such green woodland trees are described in much home-front poetry examined here, like Robinson’s oak watchtower, but during battle the emblem is briefly applied to falling soldiers rather than those proudly protecting home.[43] Soldiers and trees are heard falling, too, in words like “Fell’d” and “stroke,” which indirectly suggest the sounds of cutting and falling trees. Using rural nature as a comparison returns the battle to England, to the home, which Sargant has not described since the church prayers in the first couplet stanza. The familiar simile causes natural scenes to become visual and rural again. In other words, Sargant’s similes make the too-noisy battlefield a bit more recognizable and similar to home, while pointing towards antiwar criticism. As readers hear and envision toppling trees that spell destruction for home, Sargant then inserts another simile about eight lines later that reverses these fears: “But, like the Ocean’s girdling rock, / Again we met the dreadful shock” (91-2). English ranks bounce back up like the ubiquitous ocean and seaside rock that insulate England itself. Before the battle ends with sounds of “cannons roar” and “Prussia’s bugles,” Sargant’s two nature similes allude to England’s strength and approaching victory (111, 114). However, the final use of natural description

in “The Disbanded Soldier’s Lament” – a repeated cry – potentially undermines the great victory and the domestic virtues of virtue and knowledge it was intended to protect.

The Mind in Nature

As the battle quiets down and concludes, the ex-soldier returns to the present act of throwing away his cap now that he has returned home; but Sargant’s page is disrupted one more time by a series of asterisks at the end of the account of Waterloo. This typography at once thrusts the solider back into the present and suggests that his retelling of the battle is incomplete. Perhaps interrupted by passersby or losing some of the earlier power of “Mem’ry,” the former soldier follows the asterisks with a restatement, including a slight variation, of the opening quatrain:

> And thou art all that’s left to me,
> Of England’s great, eventful hour;
> Why then, old friend, away with thee;
> More kind than man, is wind and show’r! (123-126)

By embracing “wind and show’r,” also noted in the opening quatrain, the ex-solider confirms that nature, even if harsh, is an escape from or a foil to war and society. To be exposed in these elements is a powerful sensation and is here likened to man’s unkindness. The former soldier expects to be ridiculed, suspected, or mistreated in words and deeds that fall more harshly than the wind and rain he is willing to undergo without protection.[44] The use of natural details that are physically felt as well as seen convey in part the soldier’s inability to return home in the traditional sense of safety and comfort. Instead of domestic comfort or retreat, the repeated quatrain reinforces the importance of

memory which the soldier retains and cherishes, despite battlefield and home-front hardship. The account of the "eventful hour" – in text and memory – persists where the cap is discarded, now unnecessary.

Like Robinson's "mind unshackled" and Hemans's "Unfetter'd thought," Sargant's "kind Mem'ry" is invoked in the early lines of "The Disbanded Soldier's Lament" to help the soldier trace the story of how the home front was altered, even ruined, by battles across the Channel. Before Sargant's speaker reflects on his tenure at the Battle of Waterloo, he realizes the value of those memories now that he has returned home to nothing: "Depriv'd of all, kind Mem'ry still / Shall o'er my mind in freedom reign" (9-10). In a way, the battle has or is being fought in this poem for memory's "reign," which may be threatened by the intrusion of asterisks. Sargant's concern with memory is part of a larger trend in Romantic poetry that pathetically paints, in hopes of reform, England's forgotten, suffering home front during war and her forgotten, suffering soldiers who inhabit both the space of war and of the home, the latter ideally secluded in rural nature.[45] Wordsworth's "The Discharged Soldier" and R.T.'s "The Worn Soldier" forgo post-war celebrations or honors to let unfortunate post-war conditions reclaim readers' memory of wartime. Wordsworth's "wasted" and "groan[ing]" spectral solider in the countryside is a shocking contrast to the glory and pageantry of the many celebratory songs of this period that called marching soldiers "gallant" (438, 432).[46] Similarly, Amelia Opie's "Lines written at Norwich on the First News of Peace" opens with the pageantry of "joyful cry" and "shouts to peace" from a mixed crowd of "friends" and "strangers" (1-7, 36). But soon the reality of "the slaughtered brave" and a woman's tale

of loss "checked" the parade (48, 45). Sargant's soldier echoes these earlier poems while directly calling on memory – even if unstable – to cope with war's effects on the home front.

The memory or mind that "in freedom reign[s]" was central to earlier French Revolutionary debates – seen in battlefield ballads like "Llwhen and Gwyneth" – but the notion of free minds also appears in domestic poems to explicate the gifts or blessings of the rural home, even in times of conflict. Robinson's later work, "Written on seeing a Rose still blooming at a Cottage Door on Egham Hill, the 25th of October, 1800" includes a precise date to clarify the rose's seasonal fortitude as well as wartime fortitude. In the fall of 1800, temporary peace with France was still nearly two years away and "Foreign Intelligence" articles ran in most newspapers, most recently recounting the Battle of Marengo.[47] Regardless of the title's specific allusion, the rose in this poem is a symbol both of fortitude and of a "waste" of rural, and perhaps female, power (14). 'Waste' is a word Robinson uses in home-front poems to describe the fading, wasting of women and children at home while male figures are at war. In "The Widow's Home" the mother's body and her fears are repeatedly described as both "a rose" and "a waste," which suggests she might fade into nothingness like many bereaved women in Romantic war poetry.[48] But in "Written on seeing a Rose," Robinson goes a step farther to address the rose, no matter how temporary, as offering a series of gifts:

> Thou emblemest the beauteous MIND
> Thrown on Oblivion's gloomy scene:
> Unheeded, with the wild weeds twin'd,
> Thou here art plac'd – (19-22)

Likely gendered female, the rose represents the mind that is at once lovely and yet disregarded. This hidden "mind" bursts into the speaker's view, a treasure secluded among nature's "wild weeds," which in turn causes the speaker's mind to create the poem. The rose's half hidden placement serves as hope or fortitude even in the gloomiest rural or political scene. The "beauteous mind" is in between summer and fall, life and death, beauty and decay. Robinson further emphasizes "place" to clarify that such mental gifts or consolations for wartime "waste" and "weeds" can be found within rural scenes or even "here" on the printed page.

Helen Maria Williams's contemporaneous "Hymn, Written Among the Alps" repeats similar locative words to situate readers in a rural place, represented on the page with "where" and "there" much like Robinson's use of "here" and "plac'd." Williams uses rugged natural details and songlike refrains to explore how the mind grows when in a secluded place, which "Domestic Affections" over a decade later could not achieve due to war's persistent interruptions. Williams writes:

> Where midst some vast expanse the mind,
> Which swelling virtue fires
> …
> Where rushing from their snowy source
> The daring torrents surge (33-42)

Even in quite startling places, the mind is learning "virtue" from snow, water, and mountains, much like the "gifts" nature gives the minds of widow and son in Robinson's "The Widow's Home." As Williams blends vivid natural details and locative assertions of "where" or "there," she subtly refers to the page of poetry that can convey beauty and

virtue in the same way directly viewing the Alps might. Similarly, Robinson writes her rose into language on the page, it speaks from its liminal state, "*here* my bosom morning's rays / And morning's tear unvanquish'd meets" (emphasis mine, 41-2). The 'unvanquished' rose-mind is a brief instance of warlike language applied to both the evocative rural scene and to the poet's ability to capture the image symbolically in print. Contemporaries Robinson and Williams use natural details from flowers to rivers, often in a few descriptive words, to reveal the mind's power to think on such scenes and be comforted. For them, even the printed page is a secure space where both the rose and the mind can be preserved. In the midst of Hemans's descriptive shipwreck in the later "Domestic Affections," she very differently asserts "E'en *then,* thy mind, embitt'ring ev'ry pain, / Retrac'd the image so belov'd – *in vain*!" (107-8, emphasis added). As opposed to Williams's terrifying snows, darkness, and peaks in the Alps that still offer "virtue" for the mind, Hemans's ocean, wind, and memory of rural scenes fail to offer much consolation. Even the shift in locative terms, from "here" to "then," suggests a sense of delayed security or peace that becomes central for second generation Romantic writers. The different constructions of the mind and nature across both generations of Romantic war poetry reveal common, contested themes that women poets returned to and reconstructed as they sought to materialize or grapple with lengthy wars in the space of print.

Nature as a Guide

Robinson's home-front poems often highlight the space of the page by commenting on the act of recording or writing, which further merges memory and nature in this genre. The local speaker who dominates the tale in "The Deserted Cottage" – also in *Lyrical Tales* – laments that "no trace" has been left of the family ruined by war (95). At the same time, readers bear witness to the tracing, the recording of this family in two ways. First, the visitor makes numerous observations on the beautiful, but "dark" homestead, a rural scene which tells him "Love" was once and still "should" be present there (13-6). Second, the local speaker tells a lengthy first-hand narrative, tracing the lives of Old Jacob and his children. Why this strange reflexivity? Initially, contrasting details in the setting are marks of change that prompt the first speaker's concerns. There's a hole in the house's "thatch [where] north-wind blows," but still "near it sweetest flowrets grow" (5, 11). Therefore, rural changes leave a trace of life that causes readers to look more closely at clues in the text itself. Robinson's text then becomes an exercise in preservative storytelling as the local speaker remembers the contrasting experiences – joy and sorrow – that led to the present haunting scene.

In the second generation of wartime poets, Felicia Hemans latches on to poetic tracing by repeating words like "record" and "spot" to emphasize the importance of place, whether home or page. Even Robinson's "The Widow's Home," in its shift from home to battlefield, exclaims that "His very name / Is now forgotten!" turning to lament the missing records and traces of wartime life that Hemans directly identifies (87-8).

Indeed, the father-soldier's name is not given as Old Jacob's is in "The Deserted Cottage," yet readers know the mother and son are "waiting his return" and that this rural home is the seat of "Heav'n's best gifts," which perhaps suggests a grander, more virtuous memorial than golden monument (25, 100). Then, the home-front poem also comes to stand in for memory, for the "unmark'd resting place," of countless lost lives, especially those without gilded memorials (93). These moments when Robinson's poems refer to themselves almost by omission – the story is "forgotten" and there is "no trace" of these families in a poem totally devoted to them – forcibly highlight the space of the text itself. The text has made a record, has staved off forgetfulness by using the public space of print as a material map for domestic war tales.

It is important to note that Robinson's "The Deserted Cottage," like Sargant's "The Disbanded Soldier's Lament," is primarily focused on recording the lives of men on the home front as opposed to on the battlefield. Rural descriptions in fact help place men in the domestic sphere during war, which further unites men's and women's wartime experiences. Old Jacob was blessed with "Nature's treasure," from sunlight to breezes around his cottage (33). Further, his children become part of this landscape and bounty. His daughter is described "like the morning Star" and it was she who conducted many pastoral, rural duties for her father like leading "vagrant lamb[s]" and "join[ing] the Shepherd's tuneful reed" (51-57). Her actions not only reinforce the relationship between the family and nature, but her actions are delineated more clearly than the other characters'. The time Robinson devotes to the daughter denotes the important role women played during war; in many ways, households, income, and morale were kept

running because of women's work, as outlined by Davidoff and Hall. Her work and her suffering then are equal to that of her male counterparts. With only one sestet to his sister's two, Old Jacob's "bold" and "sturdy Boy" is briefly mentioned and is less active, though his sestet soon shifts the outcome of this tale (61). As war arises, Robinson depicts Old Jacob suffering like many female characters do in war poetry. First, "Young, in the wars, the brave Boy fell! / His Sister died of sadness!" (67-8). The sharpness of the line break and the emphasis made with capitals and exclamation points embody the sudden destruction of war. In two breaths, two children are lost to war's wide-reaching devastation.

Like many widowed or betrothed female figures in Romantic war poetry do, Old Jacob is then for two sestets described as wandering around the countryside in "madness" (72). Already periodical poems like "Thomas and Kitty" and Charlotte Smith's "The Female Exile" traced female characters distraught by a dead or absent loved one. Such women are described as "half-expiring" or with "mind foreboding" as they wander battlefields or bleak countrysides alone. Another periodical poem, "On a Late Victory at Sea," describes a woman as "Her tender wishes blasted with a groan, / Mad'ning, in death she screams 'her lover bleeds.'" Old Jacob – wandering, "talking wildly" – was also found dead in the surrounding countryside "upon the dewy grass" of "The Woodland's narrow winding pass" (75-81). The connection to other bereaved heroines and rural scenes continues when Old Jacob is buried near his cottage, "beneath yon poplar tree" (85). These concluding rural details are meant to echo his earlier "treasure[s]"; nature still surrounds him, but he no longer notices or "beholds" its beauty as the earlier lines

state (40). “Thomas and Kitty” and “The Disbanded Soldier’s Lament” similarly end with a harsh rural scene of cold rain and thunder rather than warm, green homes. Still, unlike Hemans over a decade later, the repeated beauties of nature in Old Jacob’s narrative of joy and woe suggests that rural scenes are constant, reliable avenues of comfort for home-front sufferers and readers.

More specifically, in “The Deserted Cottage” the rural charms of flowers and trees are offered as guides to stave off fear and forgetfulness that piled up during prolonged war. Even the repetition of “behold yon little cot” and the lingering effect of alliteration and assonance in “The Woodland’s narrow winding pass” spoken by the local attempt to make nature prominent and comforting again, if not for Old Jacob (81, 91). Although Old Jacob’s mind falters under wartime sorrow and is no longer susceptible to nature’s “tranquil” influence, the local speaker further personifies rural details in the final sestet for the visitor to extract a lesson from the scene (22). Old Jacob lies beneath a tree that is “sighing: / For sighing oft it seems to be” (86-7). Robinson’s repetition reinforces the activity of sighing or lamenting wartime loss. Indeed, the rural scene surrounding the cottage engages in mourning activities, creating another home-front exemplum of virtue and honor. The tree’s “morning tears begem the ground” instead of human mourners, an absence that at once emphasizes the importance of nature and calls on readers to recognize and lament another’s wartime loss (89). Therefore, watching nature’s reactions to wartime loss prevents ineffective absorption into Old Jacob’s sad tale. Instead, natural details like the tree have changed from treasure to mourner, offering support for – rather than total loss of – rural beauty and the “tranquil mind” during times of war (22). Instead

of fixating on military language as in "The Widow's Home," the local speaker here relies on personified rural details – more common to the domestic genre – to guide the visitor toward comfort and understanding during war.

Nature Inspires

In gathering home-front poems, one could almost select at random a poem from Felicia Hemans's 1828 *Records of Woman*, which pairs well with the 1812 "Domestic Affections" to conclude this chapter. Most female figures in *Records* experience the negative effects of political and social conflict, like Edith losing her husband in a skirmish with Native Americans or the Greek bride whose family is killed by the pirates who take her as a slave. Other women are imprisoned during war or seek revenge for wartime casualties, but I am interested in the two poems that most clearly grapple with women during war: "Joan of Arc, in Rheims" and "The Switzer's Wife." These texts also mirror one another in the sense that one figure can no longer return to the space of the rural home after war, but the other figure cannot leave the home before war. Nature similes and formal variations in both texts not only unbalance the page but also help blend domestic virtues with wartime language. In "Joan of Arc," Hemans uses similes about nature much like Sargant; these similes are subtle connections between war, fame, and domestic joys made early in the poem. The poem opens in a public gathering at the Rheims Cathedral, where "mighty music rolled" and crowds cheered for Charles VII's crowning and for Joan's honors after the Siege of Orléans (2). Amidst stained glass, banners, and "gold" armor, Hemans adds a few brief details that evoke rural nature (20). The processional music first "Swell'd out like rushing waters" (14). Though Hemans's

sentences and lines quickly move on to detail the parade's "censer" and "white banner," the similes in fact foreshadow the importance of domestic, rural spaces (15, 19).

Throughout the poem, rural scenes are planted in readers' minds just behind the imposing cathedral and celebratory parade, which foreshadow and suggest the greater significance of Joan's experiences with nature as a child. Indeed, mid-poem Hemans suddenly shifts to introduce Joan's rustic father and brothers who confront Joan in the parade and immediately undo the "pomp" at the cathedral (71). The narrator then spends the rest of the poem not "in Rheims" as the title says but describing Joan's childhood countryside home with "fountain in the glade" and "beechen-tree" full of birds (72, 86). To foreshadow the importance of this rural, domestic space, Hemans subtly inserts it into the earlier celebrations where Joan carries a banner and wears her masculine "gold helm" (20). Public and private spaces are then momentarily fused. The "rushing waters," in the simile quoted above, are first heard. Then, Joan's entrance is "like sunshine streaming" and "thro' clouds of fragrance gleaming" (19-20). Sunshine and clouds not only suggest opposing outcomes of the war Joan orchestrated, but these visual details preemptively connect Joan to her domestic, rural past. The helm and banner then begin to compete with Joan's rural connections. Upon her presentation to the crowd as an honored warrior, the celebration is again described as moving waters like the fountain she soon remembers from home: "A proud rich stream of warlike melodies, / Gushed thro' the antique fane, / and forth she came" (47-9). Joan's entrance into the public, military space is predicated on her rural upbringing and virtues.

Thanks to Hemans's repeated rural details, Joan's early closeness to nature is referred to as the main cause of her later heroism, though that heroism ironically keeps her separated from the security of the domestic sphere. The last simile in the poem describes Joan's reaction to hearing her father's voice as he enters the public gathering. Among the loud crowd she hears his voice "As of a breeze that o'er her home had blown" (58). The breeze, the voice, comes to calm and to change the scene's direction. Joan's memories of "home" flood the poem in order to compete with "The plumes, the banner," a line that still exists amid Joan's flashback (72). The flashback stanza, however, sees none of the earlier similes that linked the grand display to nature. Instead, the similes and scenes funnel into Joan's own speech, who states "To the still cabin and the beechen-tree, / Let me return" (86-7). Her home is "still"; it is calm despite the strife of war and it remains a constant space, in memory and reality, for Joan to return to.[49] However, like the tension between Joan's sunshine and clouds, she cannot return home because of "too much of fame" that keeps her bound to the public sphere (90). In fact, another reference to her "helm of many battles" slips into the concluding domestic memory, which suggests ongoing tension between these spaces (82).

"Joan of Arc" realizes an unsteady connection between home and the public as Hemans shifts between the sounds, images, and stillness found in nature and in the parade. The two spaces of home and battle, as Hemans tells us at the end, are too closely intertwined for Joan to leave either of them now. Still, Hemans's subtle yet repetitive rural details and similes suggest the continued influence of Joan's home, so similar to those homes rooted in the ideal English countryside, over wartime activities.[50] Sound

imagery moves from the cathedral and the crowd to nature similes, like rushing water, and finally to real birds singing at Joan's home. At times, lines that describe sound abruptly end or lose their rhyme as Hemans's form changes. End rhymes for the father's breezy voice, "tone" and "blown," follow the couplet form, but the "warlike melodies" offered to Joan at the parade do not have a matching couplet rhyme (57-8, 48). In fact, its slant rhyme, "skies," is separated by another line as Hemans breaks up her structure (46). Much like Sargant, Hemans uses brief rural descriptions and variable forms to accentuate the importance of rural retreats during times of war. Particularly for women during war, nature offers a source of calm, like the "still" Joan of Arc hopes for, but poets' textual variations often undermine this consolation from the countryside.

"Joan of Arc, in Rheims" and "The Switzer's Wife," along with the many diverse compositions in *Records of Woman,* respectively employ regular or irregular stanzaic forms that embody two different experiences women have with war. For instance, Hemans's warrior women are rooted in less stable printed forms than women who advise from the domestic sphere, like the wife discussed below. The structure of the 94-line "Joan of Arc" is, to say the least, sporadic. Largely moving between couplets and alternating rhymes, within the same stanza, Hemans makes use of indentation and shortened lines and sometimes abruptly ends stanzas without a paired rhyme. For instance, Joan's entrance twice causes a shift from couplets to alternating rhyme and vice versa. First, Hemans writes

> A proud rich stream of warlike melodies,
> Gush'd thro' the portals of the antique fane,

Then, Joan's entrance leads back to couplets:

> And forth she came. – Then rose a nation's sound –
> Oh! What a power to bid the quick heart bound, (48-51)

On the one hand the sudden return to couplets is a fitting, epic form for the warrior's public procession from cathedral to crowd, further emphasizing the different spaces women must navigate when engaging with war. Still, the differing spaces of cathedral, crowd, and rhyme scheme signal difficult navigation for Joan. Hemans could have easily kept the rhyme with "fane" by shortening the following line with "came." Hemans does make use of clipped lines elsewhere in the poem, albeit to confound the rhyme scheme again. But without the paired rhyme Joan is explicitly and irrevocably leaving the cloistered, private sphere of church as she did her home.

Hemans's sporadic rhyme scheme and repeated long dashes embody the tension in moving between theoretically separate spaces. The two long dashes quoted above slow the poem's pace and elongate Joan's entrance into public, military fame. There's even a full stop caesura that refuses continuity with the earlier rhyme "fane," denoting the space of the church and keeping it separate from the public parade. The new rhyming word is introduced, "sound," followed by another lengthy, silent dash. The quiet dashes surrounding the word "sound" may dramatize the reluctance to fully hear or even describe women's public activity during war. These moments when syntax and rhyme shift suddenly reflect the unstable world, even in print, a female warrior must navigate. However, as "Joan of Arc, In Rheims" moves into the rural scene of her childhood home,

uniform couplets take over the flashback just as they did during Joan's entrance into the public parade. Therefore, the epic couplet form, seemingly used sporadically, unites the space of military honor that women can achieve with the space of rural, domestic security that women are expected to remain in. In twenty lines of regular couplets, the memory of the rural home seems to be secure and given epic importance. However, Joan's verbal exclamation to return home ends the flashback and the formal regularity, suggesting her inability to return to the same secluded home, much like Sargant's disbanded soldier. Shifting spaces and rhymes reveal that publicity during war theoretically debars women from fully returning to the secluded domestic sphere, which Hemans also suggested through her use of nature in "Domestic Affections."

"Joan of Arc" again creates tension through structural variation and long dashes as the opening six lines of regular couplets are interrupted by a question about private space. Reminiscent of "Woman on the Field of Battle," Hemans shifts suddenly from the scene "at the temple's gate" to a question: "And what was done within? – within, the light" (6-7). Not only does the ethereal "light" break up the regular couplets and concrete image of the "gate," but the speaker's interest becomes more internal. Rather than lingering outside with the crowd awaiting Joan's entrance – the King is scarcely mentioned – the speaker desires to pry into the private, holy space, a space often allocated to women for religious devotion and instruction. The new interest in this more private realm is emphasized in the repetition of "within." Between these words the long dash makes its first appearance in the poem, paired with another of Hemans's distinctive full stop caesuras and questions, which signal another change of space both physical and

formal. The long dash reveals the speaker's pause before prying into, via the public printed page, a private space. Uneasily describing "what was done within," the speaker shifts to alternating rhymes that add extra indentations at the beginning of some lines, which the descriptive, uniform couplets do not have.[51] The physical changes of white space, punctuation, and rhyme on the page constantly rock readers in and out of public and private scenes in this poem. Hemans's variable textual presence on the page then suggests the trouble Joan and onlookers have when tracing women's activity during war.

At the end of the long opening stanza, in which couplets are repeatedly introduced and dismissed, the final line is not given a matching rhyme, a variation reminiscent of Sargant. Short and almost admonishing, the line asserts "Ransom'd for France by thee!" (41). Without a corresponding rhyme, "thee" takes on more significance. Honoring Joan with direct address, the speaker also subtly recognizes that "thee" is a woman to whom France owes her liberty. The abrupt line break and subsequent stanza break leave readers' eyes on "thee!" and its surrounding white space. Often, Hemans will italicize such important gender pronouns, as in "Domestic Affections," but in "Joan of Arc" her italics are not used until the poem shifts to describe "*her* childhood" (60). Instead, the large amount of white space surrounding the short, exclamatory "thee!" creates emptiness. Though readers pause for a while and perhaps reflect on the wartime feats a woman has accomplished, the empty space also embodies the fact that Joan historically receives little by way of thanks or safety. Hemans's line breaks and italics emphasize the future loss of her country's support as well as her inability to return to the comforts of home with father and brothers.

In “The Switzer’s Wife” Hemans experiments with abrupt line breaks yet again, but in this text the breaks refer to the domestic sphere only. Every stanza but one is self-contained, making use of a final period. Stanzas four and five, on the other hand, are connected by a long, enjambed sentence. Not only does the otherwise tightly controlled poem loosen up a bit between these two stanzas, but the enjambed space encompasses the generational sorrow war can cause. The father, Werner, sitting at home with a foreboding sense of attack, causes his young son to become “dimly” aware of wartime fear (27). To overlap the stanzas, Hemans writes

> Rais’d from his heap’d up flowers a glance of joy,
> And met his father’s face: but then a change
> Pass’d swiftly o’er the brow of infant glee. (24-26)

In these lines, as in the opening descriptive setting, rural nature is not a sufficient shield from fear, though it is worth protecting as we will see later. Moreover, linking the boy’s realization across the white space of a stanza emphasizes the contrast between “joy” and sorrow more firmly than keeping the expressions to one stanza. Though father and son are still connected by enjambment, the lengthy pause between stanzas builds suspense like that the characters are feeling. However, “The Switzer’s Wife” is strictly composed, especially when compared to “Joan of Arc.” In fact, “The Switzer’s Wife” employs the Venus and Adonis stanza throughout, a regular and well-established form that unites romance and war.[52] Hemans’s regularity also corresponds to the figure of the wife, who is brave and constant, and to the unchanging rural scene that frames the entire poem.

Hemans devotes four stanzas of "The Switzer's Wife" to direct female speech that is strengthened by the regular stanzaic structure of the rest of the poem. The speaking wife is indeed contained in a much more rigid stanzaic form than Joan of Arc, but the wife has much more room to speak, which suggests her mastery over prescribed forms and gendered spheres. The narrator describes this mastery as

> St[anding] brightly forth, and stedfastly, that hour,
> Her clear glance kindling into sudden power.
> Ay, pale she stood, but with an eye of light,
> And took her fair child to her holy breast,
> And lifted her soft voice, that gather'd might
> As it found language; – "Are we thus oppress'd? (72-6).

The wife's inspired "power" of speech also comes at the right time, shown with the paired rhyme "hour." In addition to "sudden" and "gather'd might," these words suggest that this type of speech is unusual for the unnamed wife – a momentary wartime action – but "language" itself provides strength where the father's facial expressions had earlier taught fear. To kindle fortitude in her domestic audience, the wife's language is direct and local; she describes pleasures of their valley to root her husband, and readers, back into a popular reason to go to battle. "[O]ur mountain-sod" and "chamois-paths…thro' the forests" are all guides she lists to initiate wartime resistance (77, 91). As in many of the other home-front poems examined above, "the sweet memory" of these rural scenes is invoked, it "May well give strength – if aught be strong on earth" (84). In fact, while men and women in this poem are linked in the inspiration each draws from favorite rural scenes, the wife divides their wartime duties into distinct actions: "man must arm, and woman call on God!" (78). Despite the conventional division of labor, Hemans places

them both on the same line. The shared space of the printed line equalizes both tasks, like the economic and emotional mutual dependence each space offers the other. Moreover, the wife rhymes "call on God" with her description of "our mountain-sod" that must be protected, suggesting women's assistance in guarding the home and its rural surroundings.

Indeed, as Werner "sprang up like a warrior-youth" to respond to his wife's speech, he further connects their secluded countryside to women's "power," a power which is not only prayer, readers learn through his sudden burst of activity, but also direct speech (97). Once free again, Werner states, "This our land [will] Be taught of thee…Thy gentle voice shall stir the Alps" (105-8). The rural landscape of Switzerland hears and learns from her voice in the same way Werner does, suggesting the closeness of the domestic woman and surrounding natural details like mountains and trees. Additionally, her speech is an example for Werner to model when he goes to rouse a militia. She explains, "thro' the forests go; / And tell, in burning words" what the men must do (93). The "burning words" that will rouse a militia are the same that the wife gives to her husband, which are described as "kindling," "light," and "brightly."[53] Her speech, an active and inspiring wartime duty, offsets Werner's dejected, inactive state. With this contrast, the text briefly undermines the gendered ideology of wartime protection. In many ways the wife protects the husband from fear and from surrender; she says, "I can bear all, but seeing *thee* subdued, – / Take to thee back thine own undaunted mood" (89-90). The words "subdued" and "undaunted" allude to states of oppression and liberty during war and, as we have seen Werner spring up at her words, her speech creates in

reality this shift to "undaunted" Swiss forces who do ultimately prevail. That is to say, without the wife's words spoken within the domestic sphere, no male uprising would take place to secure Swiss liberty. As the Swiss setting is initially described by Werner, there are "free torrents" and "tyranny…lies couch'd by forest-rills," which inspire the actions of both male and female characters (50-1).

After the inspirational division of labor the wife propounds, the opening rural scene returns to calm the family in Hemans's final stanza; but as the couple is parted, so too are natural details and gendered duties divided.

> And thus they parted, by the quiet lake,
> In the clear starlight: he, the strength to rouse
> Of the free hills; she, thoughtful for his sake,
> To rock her child beneath the whispering boughs (109-112)

The descriptions of lake, starlight, hills, and boughs are separated into their own lines, with no additional or related rural details in that space. Further, Hemans no longer keeps men's and women's wartime activity on the same line nor chooses to rhyme them. Now that the woman has engaged with war more actively through her speech rather than "call[ing] on God," her role becomes traditionally domestic and focused on childcare. The speech itself held gendered wartime duties together, though she is unable to do it more publicly for the Swiss army; only Werner can speak in such a public gathering. At the same time, perhaps, the speech inspired by rural charms and domestic passions is given a more public place via the printed page.

Hemans's imagery in the concluding lines of "The Switzer's Wife" also implies that the rural, domestic setting is responsive to war and the woman's speech. The trees "whisper" like the wife's lingering speech as lakes and hills come into focus despite the night. As in the opening stanzas, the personified "evening" – along with "crimson" and "green" details – plays a domestic role in "Gathering a household" (8, 12, 17-18). The word 'gather' appears again as the unnamed wife's speech "gather'd might." In a bit of parallelism, her speech matches the powerful, gathering activity of the rural scene around her. In a way, the speech is similar to or a part of the rural scene surrounding this idealized cottage. Not only do such scenes inspire militant resistance and corresponding speech, but natural details return at the end of "The Switzer's Wife" to a familiar place in the secluded domestic sphere. Nature, like the wife, is briefly applied to wartime activity before returning to foster the home. Bound up together, domestic women and rural scenes have a salient ability to shift between public and private spheres to varying degrees of success. The tight stanzas and rhyme scheme of "The Switzer's Wife" suggest her control over both spheres although her "voice" only indirectly inspires the public group. Indeed, the wife's use of rural scenes as inspiration to speak and as an example to further inspire others helps extend the boundary of the domestic poem, particularly during war. Hemans, along with Robinson and Sargant, primarily relied on rural description, in multiple physical senses, to convey the ongoing tension and extreme closeness between the familiar space of home, especially the women that inhabit it, and the irrevocable changes made on the battlefield.

Conclusion

During the long Romantic war years, the figure of the domestic woman and her supposedly secluded home were increasingly forced into the public sphere of political debate and battlefield violence, leading women poets in particular to revise the domestic genre into a home- front poem that conveyed this connection. As the spaces of home and battlefield merged on the page, so did many different formal structures. Rhyme schemes devolved, stanzas and lines suddenly shifted or shortened, and military terms described rural homesteads. Such variation and language underscore and perhaps critique the prevalent theory of separate spheres, which was reinforced during the war years and continued to have influence well into the Victorian period. Still, women's home-front poems continuously created links between families, rural nature, and battlefield events that either support, console, or destroy one another. The rural home and the domestic poem cannot be solely understood as secluded spots of virtue or comfort during the Romantic war years, but instead as available spaces for public education about war, particularly about women's and nature's role therein. As poets redefined the space of the home in order to reflect war's pervasiveness and thus unite the supposedly separate spheres, memory or minds are often invoked to help preserve the home or domestic joys. This emphasis on mind and memory – seen in battlefield ballads as well – invites further questions about women's engagement with traditional memorial genres like elegy. Periodical songs for soldier's deaths poured out their praises, readers' losses, and sometimes described graves or memorials. But as women poets approached the space of the grave or memorial headstone, home and battlefield were also revisited. In fact, the

following chapter finds elegy to be the chief form used by women poets to teach readers about their role during war, which further unites battlefield and home under shared a responsibility to both civilians and soldiers.

CHAPTER IV

"READER, PAUSE!": LESSONS IN MOURNING FROM ROMANTIC WOMEN POETS

Surveying the female-authored elegy in Britain, Anne K. Mellor repeatedly finds the genre crossing private and public spheres, going so far as to claim that the elegy functions at times "as public educational instruction." Mellor's "conduct elegy" manipulates sensibility – expected from women in the literary marketplace – and public occasions for grief into "social critique" (453-4). Similarly, Patrick Vincent suggests that the death of a public figure or the loss of a certain way of life (like the turn from joy to despair in Charlotte Smith's *Elegiac Sonnets*) presents an opportunity to merge the authority of women's "moral upper hand" with sociopolitical commentary (41). Elegy can then look like a conduct book, detailing who and how to mourn.[54] Otherwise, women are "noted only as absences" or abstract forces to be overcome in the "canonical English elegies" examined by Melissa Zeiger (10). Because elegy already made private emotions public, women poets during the Romantic war years seized on and revised elegiac tropes to teach more conscientious mourning activities to a readership strained by long, uncertain conflicts with Europe (Johnston 26). Far from the favorite pastoral elegy's stages of "praise, lament, and console," women's war elegies instructed readers in the importance of reading and preserving records of war and loss (Vincent 31). Whereas

Mellor's conduct elegy denounces the causes of soldiers' deaths while modeling their virtues, the "wartime elegy" I propose in this chapter promotes perpetual remembrance by modeling active reading and writing. Indeed, British newspapers between 1790 and 1814 filled with titles like "Elegy," "Monody," and "To the Memory of" that lamented or paid tribute to the national dead. To support and guide this national mourning some women poets subverted expected elegiac tropes of lamentation, nature's cycles, and heavenly consolation. In their place, locative language, shifting addresses, and intertextuality provided instruction in active reading and preserving the records of the dead. The war elegies I have selected here from Mary Robinson, Felicia Hemans, and Jane Alice Sargant dramatize acts of reading and writing and further underscore an overlooked subgenre of women's elegy.

The dramatization of reading in the war elegies that I examine in this chapter appears to stem from the explosion of print and the advent of silent reading in the Romantic era. Considered a media revolution by Friedrich Kittler, Celeste Langan, and Maureen McLane, silent reading led to a related pedagogy of memorization and recitation, while the act of silent reading itself "appears to offer immediate access to the thoughts of another" (Langan and McLane 241). This "interiorization" of language and voice is like the elegy both private and public; one may read silently alone but "one believes one hears what one merely reads," to quote Schlegel's *Über die Philosophie* (1799, 42).[55] In the imagined voice of silent reading the individual reader may commune with another – a speaker or a character – which is part of what female-authored war elegies seek: to focus on the living more than on the dead. Robinson, Hemans, and

Sargant all directly reference acts of reading and writing in ways that potentially teach new mourning practices without the sequence of praise, lament, consolation, and "self-discovery so central to elegy" (Vincent 37). The lessons found in women's elegies that directly invoke fallen soldiers are in fact aimed at the reader, who plays a role in preserving memory and attending to the living. At the same time silent reading and periodical elegies increased, more than 40% of European universities were effectively closed due to the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (Rüegg). England in particular extended the private, moral education at home towards the public cause, suggested by the "best gifts" and inspiration drawn from the home in poems in the previous chapter and by an 1810 article on Britain's fraught relationship with Europe that called for "domestic duties…to continue to protect ourselves and others" (Philalethes). Though physically restricted from university and theoretically restricted from political practice, women seized on the seemingly private elegiac genre as a training ground where active, silent reading and textual tricks could lead the public towards productive, if prolonged, mourning.

Anne Mellor has compellingly linked British women's elegies to the contemporary conception of "intuitive grief," outlined by psychologists Terry Martin and Kenneth Doka. This grief is not relieved or surpassed by "cognitive" processes like that found in many male elegies, especially in the moment of anagnorisis. Instead of placating grief, it must be perpetually shared, exclaimed, and explored (Mellor 243). Mellor, Patrick H. Vincent, and Stuart Curran find a sharp decrease in elegiac consolation in the Romantic period, but they do not articulate how or what replaces consolation and

anagnorisis in the genre. During the war years, women seemed to present active reading and writing strategies as alternatives, if not solutions, to great grief. Repetitions of reading, shifting addresses, and quotation continually replace familiar elegiac figures and images that would otherwise offer some sort of consolation or peace in the face of death. For instance, Brandy Ryan and Margaret Higonnet explore the significant role nature plays in expressing and at times surpassing loss in many elegies, whereas Curran and Mellor note the common trope of mourning processions that further detail the deceased's virtues. Ryan and Vincent in particular find that women's elegies often "associate…with other women," even other women writers, for sympathy and inspiration (Vincent 28). Though the similar strategies across Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant's war elegies are striking, none examined here rely on nature, allude to other women writers, or consistently share their grief through the meditative "I." Acts of reading and shifting addresses or speakers replace these common elegiac tropes listed above, which redirects the genre towards ongoing, collective experiences of mourning.

Romantic war poets began re-envisioning the experience of mourning before the decisive break in the function of elegy in the Modern period, as outlined by Jahan Ramazani and Sandra Gilbert and opposed by Jay Winter. While Modern elegies often used irony and displacement instead of conclusion or consolation, in part to avoid making horrible events appear "accessible," Romantic elegies were still very much interested in walking readers through chaotic battlefields where figures like "Fame" preside and in reflecting on the chastening effects of grand funerals or monuments (Ramazani 18). However, as this chapter will claim, many war elegies written by women shifted away

from the meditation on the dead to the activity of the living, the readers. They did so with strategies similar to those of women elegizing World War I, such as denial, direct address, collective voice, and repeated questions, all effectively analyzed by Higonnet. Modern and Romantic women alike manipulated the elements of pastoral elegy in order to refute or dissipate its consoling influence over mourners. Though Tennyson's *In Memoriam* and Hardy's elegies to Emma return the form to its pastoral roots before Modernism's break and the World Wars, Romantic war elegies had already begun to break the focus on the mourner and on nature. Women's war elegies and "To the Memory of" poems are less about how the individual speaker dealt with loss or how the deceased's virtues will live on and instead aim to "reattach the mourner to the body of society," as Kenneth R. Johnston says of Wordsworth's elegiac texts. (26). Active, silent reading aided this reattachment to society and fellow mourners. Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant thus created a link between the site of mourning, like a battlefield or headstone, and the site of the printed page where one reads and shares in "the thoughts of another" (Langan and McLane 241). Wordsworth's Pedlar in the revised "The Ruined Cottage" also intriguingly asks the narrator to "no longer *read* / The forms of things with an unworthy eye" (lines 510-11, emphasis added). Reading nature for consolatory clues left behind by the dead is translated in the hands of these three poets into reading the page, even preserving the page, for instruction in mourning.

Quite differently, many periodical elegies during the Romantic war years mitigated mourning with references to "the Potter's hand" (33) or "Liberty's cause" (3) and with optimistic addresses to figures like "ambition" or "Benevolence" (29, 73), all of

which distract from fellow mourners and from the space of the page.[56] John Gabriel Stedman – a soldier himself – utilized the private and consolatory qualities of elegy as he moved from "thunder" (1) and "agonizing pain" (9) over the loss of his son to "honour" on a "celestial shore" (30, 38). At the same time, periodical elegies and memorial poems showcased tension between individual and collective experiences with death. On the same subject, say Lord Nelson or General Abercromby, elegies were written directly to the deceased or their deaths were described distantly while a nation's "tears bedew their Hero's grave" at home ("To the Memory of Sir Ralph Abercrombie" 7). Within a single elegy, too, shifting pronouns became a common practice, which may denote a larger trend toward collective, national sorrow. "Dirge on the Death of Lord Nelson" first asks "saw ye" and later answers with "I saw," moving from battle to funeral in order to personalize the national tragedy. Alternatively, Thomas Adney's "Elegiac Sonnet, written on the Murder of the late unfortunate Monarch of France" addresses "Unhappy Louis!" and "thy fate" (1) yet turns at the end to address a collective "ye," admonishing the English to "shed a tear" (9-11). Other memorials like "Effects of War" from this period shifts from "I" to "we" to "ye" in a long, meditative stanza (5, 62, 66). In these topical, multifaceted periodical poems, elegy was being forcibly reworked from an individual overcoming loss with the help of nature or heaven to participating in national grief.

One "Ode" to all British dead reprinted twice in 1794 does invoke a writerly "Muse" as a "Record" keeper and asks readers to "Approach their tomb, ye chosen few," which links poetry with visiting tombs (2, 25). Women's war elegies not only prioritize the same term "Record," but they also expand the "chosen few" to encompass all readers.

This "Ode To the Memory of the British Officers, Seamen, and Soldiers" promises "active Virtue" (26) in exchange for attending to "the silent grave" (52) in "Albion" (56). As the grave is described – where the select few leave "palms" and sing "celestial dirges" – details from the foreign battlefield like "bleed[ing]" and "martial trumpets" suddenly intrude (43, 60, 61). Because war elegy allows the poet to look at the battlefield and home front grave simultaneously, guiding readers through this page becomes synonymous with teaching "Virtue" and stages of mourning with palms and songs. Instead of consolations like virtue, fame, or heaven, the elegiac page in women's hands demands readers engage in activities like recording, traveling, and sympathy. Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant refocus elegy more on the role of the living rather than the dead and their funerals through manipulations of structure and speakers. Most often, the physical space of the memorial poem itself (and the act of reading it) becomes the most important site of memory in these poets' revised elegies.

The mourning lesson in many elegies by women relies on spatial construction rather than symbolic imagery and allusion that help readers achieve anagnorisis (Potts 36-7). Defined as the interplay of topic and genre on a periodical page – including locative words, intricate shifts in stanza and address, and intertextuality – I argue that spatial construction taught readers how to properly mourn wartime losses, in fact, through the act of reading. This chapter explores four lessons found in Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant's war elegies: 1) Locative words that help fuse grave and page; 2) Shifting addressees and speakers that train active readers; 3) Common consolations challenged by diverse or disappearing personified figures; and 4) Intertextuality, created with quotation

marks and epigraphs, to assemble different mourning voices. Innovative spatial construction and dramatization of reading highlight other, more active mourning processes than merely rewarding the dead with fame, with heaven, or with indulgent weeping. Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant's elegiac verses that raise awareness of reading forego or gradually dismiss the typical structures and symbols of elegy. Robinson, in fact, leaves terms like "Elegy" or "Memory" out of some titles and selects quatrains instead of elegiac couplets, while Sargant retains the expected couplets in her monodies. Still, each of these poets – publishing at the outset and in the aftermath of the Romantic war years – revise elegiac texts in order to retrain living readers to do more than lament or lay palms.

Lesson 1: Locative Words

The first lesson I chart in the construction of women's war elegies is the repetition of locative words that fuse grave and page. Despite the wordy title of Robinson's poem "Stanzas Supposed to be written near a Tree, over the Grave of an Officer, Who was killed at Lincelles, in Flanders, in August 1793," the location of that grave is imprecise; it is "over" there somewhere, "supposed," "near." Celeste Langan and Maureen McLane call such terms "etherealized locations" that contrast with the concrete notion of writing also found in Robinson's title (249). To overcome ethereal locations and any related ethereal emotions, Robinson locates the act of mourning in the physical space of the poem through locative words. Locative words like "Here," "this," and "spot" are scattered throughout the seven stanzas, contending for visibility with the vague "near a Tree" and "over the Grave" in the title. Robinson, as Sargant and Hemans will further

elucidate, looks to the text to manifest a site for readers to "here / Lament" (4-5). Even the enjambment, creating white space around "here," forces readers to linger at that location on the page. The sheer repetition of locative terms, immediate referents, and dramatizations of writing "draw attention to poetry's use of the material support of paper," again in Langan and McLane's words (249).[57] Robinson's poem seems to suggest that paper and writing contain or preserve a significant location – not just the expected emotional cry of elegy – to be visited, to be read.

A concern for creating the right kind of mourning on this page grips many elegists, so Romantic war elegies often incorporated locative terms that draw attention to places and spaces and away from thoughtless, effusive displays of grief. A main channel for effusive grief was political protest, as argued by Carole Stone and echoed by Michael Williamson (Stone 85). Williamson finds that Romantic women poets calibrated scenes with individual mourners like disenfranchised women and children in order to compel social critique, to link emotion with philanthropy or action (33). In early elegies, Robinson and Hemans allude to various political upheavals and fears, but ultimately condemn the exercise of indulgent grief by converting it into places and scenes that might encourage sociopolitical change. Robinson's 1786 "Ode to the Memory of My Lamented Father" not only specifies his death "in the service of the Empress of Russia," but weaves between his heroism and "warmly enterprising mind" and "War's inviting banners wide / Wav'd hostile" (39, 60-61). The speaker imagines the scene of death by repeating "There" (63, 64, 68) and subsequently elaborating on "the boist'rous deep" and "Fame on her starry hill" (56, 67). Robinson's war scenes waver between a naval battle amidst the

elements and abstract players like Fame and Valour, which point to elegy's inherent prioritization of looming, consolatory figures that she later subverts. As the page becomes the place to see the circumstances of war and death "There," Robinson brings the poem to its culminating "FAREWELL" where she denies elegy's effusive tendencies: "Nor vaunting shines with ostentatious woe" (71, 78). Similarly, Hemans's much later "The Memory of the Dead" looks for just the right amount of woe by rupturing a line halfway through the poem with a long dash caesura and a request for "no *fruitless* grief" (21). The desire for a fruitful, productive grief is emphasized in Hemans's characteristic italics, typically denoted in the manuscripts with underlining.[58] Further, fruitful grief is created in subsequent lines by returning to locations in nature: "leaf," "path," and "garden-bower" (23-6). Like Robinson's repeated framework of "There" to reveal battle scenes, Hemans lists locations, not emotions, with locative words to focus readers' grief on details of the page.

Hemans's structure in "The Memory of the Dead" suggests that places – not just specific mourning people as Williamson notes – can instigate critical activity or thought in the midst of grief. The opening refrain "Forget them not" is later answered by locations like "The stream" and "the path" (1, 16, 25). This reverses the typical elegiac structure that begins firmly in a pastoral scene before broaching the topic of death and expressing lament (Ryan 253). By listing scenes in nature midway through the poem, Hemans first reorients readers in the struggle to remember the war dead, guiding them towards precise places that represent, rather than console or overcome, grief. These places are also subtly connected to destruction or loss in the earlier lines that note the sky is "dim" and

"shadows, ne'er mark'd before, / Brood o'er each tree" (9, 7-8). The pastoral places of path and garden that should enrich and overcome grief are instead filled with foreboding, which may allude to England's diseased internal affairs and "economic slump" in the 1820s, long before reform (Shaw 189). Still, Hemans links these locations to her repeated command to "Forget them not," equating the dead with still-living gardens and streams that can be visited via the page for active "commun[ing]" (1, 10, 19). Dead bodies themselves are missing, as Mary Favret finds throughout Romantic war poetry, but bodies are here replaced or represented with the "spot" of memory (12). The initial qualm of "Forget them not" is yoked to and solved with locative terms like "where" and "spot," which establishes a place of mourning on the page before allowing readers into the comfort of a pastoral garden or countryside (6, 11-2). And yet, "The Memory of the Dead" fails to mention any grave nearby or abroad on which to mourn or remember, leaving readers to trace hints on the page.

Readers must follow Hemans's alternating use of locative words and places in order to appropriately "Forget them not" (1, 10). The fear of forgetting is the subject of the first four quatrains of "The Memory of the Dead" before being suddenly replaced by places, or more precisely, by the introduction of locative words that link memory to pastoral places. The speaker initially urges readers to not "Forsake the spot!" (32, 12). A favorite Romantic word, Hemans's "spot" is not a grave but "where their love and life went by" (11).[59] To define this "where," Hemans later lists places of hearth, path, and garden-bower that are collectively accessed via the elegiac page. Private spaces of the home are used to guide the mourning and memorial acts of a wide readership still

"unrelieved" by war's effects, in Philip Shaw's term (190); thus the seemingly private spaces of hearth and garden lead the speaker to collectively express "our woe" (29). Visiting these "spot[s]" may remedy forgetfulness, but before the list of private pastoral spots is given, Hemans's reversed elegiac structure commands readers' attention by delaying mourning. The first four quatrains create an absence of place through a list of negatives, a list of the many losses death can bring. "Though" is repeated six times, both beginning stanzas and nestled in the middle of lines to help spur new descriptions of loss. For instance, the caesura in the first line – a long pause with a colon and dash – leads immediately into "though now their name / Be but a mournful sound" (1-2). Additional words like "no" and "yet" make up the list of negatives and qualifiers that set up this poem (5, 10). The repeated structure of things that are no longer in existence, like certain household sounds and colors in the now "dim" sky, creates suspense (9). Readers are familiar with such sorrows in wartime elegy but are delayed the next step in mourning that Hemans hints at by repeating "though." The conclusion of the sentence is delayed in order to filter readers through various reasons the living "we" have to mourn instead of finding consolation for or acceptance of death (34).

Sargant similarly implies that reading is the only way to know how and where to mourn in her 1817 "Monody," subtitled "To the Memory of Lieutenant W. Hervey, of the 17th Regiment of Foot." Playing on "Regiment of foot," Sargant asks readers to "with solemn footsteps tread / This mournful spot," the spot also being the page filled with iambic feet (1-2). Sargant too roots readers in the text before them through locative language like "This mournful spot" (2), "here" (3, 25, 28), and "hither" (23) that

overwhelm the less precise, though incredibly common, location of a "foreign" grave (7). As locative terms are repeated throughout Sargant's "Monody," the grave becomes less foreign and distant and momentarily fuses with the page. Indeed, the unmarked, half-forgotten grave "spot" is only discovered through reading. As Sargant explains, "*no* sculptur'd marble grace[d] his grave…*no* tender tear was o'er him shed!" (17-19 emphasis added). Margaret Higonnet describes the repeated use of "no" as "an extreme stance of denial," often of accepted modes of morning, and that such negatives contribute to a "breakdown of speech" (128, 123). Like Hemans's delayed "though" and "no *fruitless* grief" and Robinson's earlier "Nor vaunting shines with ostentatious woe," Sargant's "no" anaphora does deny the consolatory language of elegy but also introduces speech as characters and quotation marks then enter the poem. The lost "sculptur'd marble" monument is replaced with various speeches and records to read that I examine in detail below. Sargant's repeated "no" de-materializes the gravesite, replacing it with locative terms and various "reader[s]" whose "footsteps" explore the page.

Just as Sargant denies the customary "sculptur'd marble" and "tears" of other elegies, Robinson's "Stanzas" replaces popular symbolic representations of mourning, like "sorrow's gem," with repeated locative terms and related metrical variation (14). In these moments of spatial reconstruction, audiences may be trained to actively read, to pick up cues from shifting structures and repeated words, rather than seek solace in symbolic figures or objects. Without active reading, precise details of each gravesite would be lost and readers' duties to the dead misunderstood. In terms of the latter, Robinson uses the word "Here" to forcibly open two early stanzas. The creation of

spondees – like “Here bind” – in otherwise iambic lines establishes an authoritative speaker, which Brandy Ryan traces from Gray’s meter in “Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard” to Hemans’s use of “I stood” throughout her *Records of Woman* (252-3). Robinson similarly harnesses male elegiac authority in her *abab* rhyme scheme but removes the “I,” causing author and speaker to disappear and allowing readers step into the action of the poem. The invitations to “Here bind the laurel” and “let” tears flow force readers to “participate with the author in the ‘making’ of the work,” in the decisions about how and where to mourn (Behrendt 54). In fact, these few elegies have already revealed women’s reliance on the imperative tense; readers are to “Arrest thy wand’ring steps,” “pause,” “Forget them not,” “Keep,” “Here bind,” and “commune.” These commands seem to refer or lead to the physical page, repeatedly inviting readers to collectively read and even preserve written records of loss or honor. As Ryan also argues, elegy is an “imperative space” for women, where they can forcibly eschew consolations – in part through the repetition of “no” – and create either connection or distance between mourner and the mourned (Ryan 273). Though later nineteenth-century elegists like Elizabeth Barrett Browning use imperatives to create distance (in her repetition of “Go”), the educational objective of Romantic war elegies is closeness, to “Pause” and “commune” “Here” with other mourners through the page of poetry (Ryan 271). Additionally, the term “Here” helps Robinson trip up her iambs in order to draw readers’ attention to a list of common memorial activities. Readers are implored to “Arrest thy wand’ring steps” and then “Here…bind the laurel,” shed “tears,” and raise “The proudest tomb” for “fame” (3, 9, 10, 16). Though these several mourning options are listed

seemingly for readers to choose from, the second half of Robinson's "Stanzas" abruptly shifts its structure in order to reassert the duty of reading and writing.

Lesson 2: Shifting Addresses and Speakers

The familiar mourning solutions of laurel wreaths, tears, and fame are quickly subverted when Robinson shifts the addressee of "Stanzas." Reversing recipients mid-poem is the second textual training exercise for active reading. Initially a "pensive trav'ller" is called on to "Arrest" his "steps" (1, 3). The traveler-reader is asked for three stanzas to "Here bind the laurel" and participate in mourning "that in glowing youth he died," where other elegies might address or apostrophize the officer and his "fame" (10).[60] The officer remains in the third-person and no looming personifications or reflective "I" stand in for him. Instead, "Stanzas" suddenly turns to address "Oh! Hallow'd turf" where the body is buried and a few lines later "thou, rude bark" with "spreading" branches (13, 17); these vegetable, localized addressees effectively replace the earlier list of laurel wreaths and tears the traveler-reader is offered. In other words, Robinson models the movement of memory from rote reverence for tombs, wreaths, and tears to finding new memorial places or texts. Indeed, the poem concludes with the "superior" act of visiting and, it seems, reading these locations that are strangely described as "Carv'd" and "recording" (27, 17-18). Three lines after the "Carv'd" "bark" is addressed, "Thy fame" is called upon, ambiguously calling out to tree and to fallen officer in order to merge them on the page (16). Alternately addressing reader and

location forcibly highlights at once the collective nature of elegy and the activity of close reading.

Once the tree, "thou rude bark," is addressed and no longer "over the grave" as per the title, it becomes a makeshift headstone to be read. The line "Carv'd by some just *recording* hand" reveals a written monument to be read, like the poem (18, emphasis added). The acts of carving and recording highlight the importance not only of reading memorials but of writing them as well. In fact, the tree becomes "proudly conscious" of the recording and is hailed as an active reader, "thy guarding branches spread wide" to embrace and protect the record of life lost (19, 20). The "guardian" tree then becomes connected in the final lines to the collective, "grateful country [that] guards his fame" (28). Country and carved tree are both asked to read and become "proudly conscious" of these recorded memorials (17). Moreover, the traveler and readers are again called upon to "preserve" and "Keep" the carved tree safe from "wintry wind, the drifted snow" so that it might continually be visited and read (17, 21-2). As Robinson shifts her addressee from traveler, to ground, to tree, the mourning lesson also shifts from "tears" and consoling "fame" to physically "recording" and reading that fame. To reinforce the significance of actively reading what is "Here," Robinson concludes her "Stanzas" with an assertion of absence: "No trophied column 125nsa'd with bays, / No gilded tablet bears his name" (25-6). In the closing quatrain, Robinson denies familiar memorial trappings like bay wreaths and golden tablets, a cue Sargant takes up later to destabilize Hervey's gravesite. In Higonnet's construction, the "repetition of direct address" in elegy gives the addressee – the tree and turf – "presence" or body so that the earlier suggestions

of binding laurel and shedding tears on "The proudest tomb" fade from view (Higonnet 128). Since Robinson's 1789 Ode, in which "laurel" and "realms celestial" are initially offered as consolations for a dead father, the poet has continually contrasted such details with elements of reading and writing, like "recording hand" and acts of the "Muse" in a poem discussed below (9, 10). Similarly, Hemans's speaker in "The Memory of the Dead" describes a "record link[ed]" to each "spot" hallowed by the dead, which plays on the written records of both headstones and the poem (23). In addition to the "record" left behind are "relics we may hold," perhaps the leaf, hearth, or even the printed page (34). As Hemans's collective "we" and "our woe" – like Robinson's "country" – are directed towards textual records or the act of recording, women's war elegies merge ongoing "intuitive" grief with Martin and Doka's opposite "instrumental" grieving activities, namely reading and writing.

Sargant directly calls out to readers – equating a reader with one capable of proper mourning – but abruptly switches addressee and speaker to represent stages or steps for mourning similar to Robinson's list of tears and wreaths and carved trees (1). In a variation of the "pause, traveler" exclamation, as seen in Southey's "To a Friend" (1793), Sargant's "Monody to the Memory of Lieutenant W. Hervey" begins admonishingly, "Pause! *reader,* pause! with solemn footsteps tread / This mournful spot," the page (1-2, emphasis added). Sargant not only uses the page to see the "cypress" and "shade" in Langan's theory of audiovisual hallucinations, but demands "pause," stillness from her readers (52). Like Robinson's request to "Arrest" movement, Sargant requires stillness in order to adequately read or to find "This spot" and experience "silent sorrow" (16).

Hemans's imperative "Forget them not" is also qualified with "stillness round" hearth and garden (4). The repeated connection between stillness and reading may suggest the advent of silent reading, which "internalizes" language and "the thoughts of another" (Langan and McLane 241). In this pause, Sargant suddenly turns to address and introduce readers to "another" at the end of the first stanza: "hapless youth! Thy loss shall fame deplore" (13). While the change in addressee briefly lets readers contemplate Hervey's bravery and abstract "fame," the second couplet stanza returns to the third-person "his grave," punctuated by the repeated "no" mentioned above (17). The unmarked gravesite appears to rupture and cut short the address to the dead. Like Robinson's tree-text, Sargant turns to address the physical location instead of the fallen soldier or abstract figures like "Vict'ry" from the earlier lines (12). Sargant's speaker again repeats "Here," calling for "no unholy footsteps [to] intrude" the gravesite (25). Footsteps recall the opening address for "reader[s]" to "pause" and follow the "solemn" and still topic of the poem. As the gravesite is indirectly addressed "Here" – with all its detail of "fairest flow'r" and "plaintive bird" – readers are a third time presented with a sudden, new addressee (21, 23). The speaker's shifting addresses to readers, to Hervey, and to the physical gravesite train silent readers to attend to and preserve diverse records of mourning.

Sargant's shifting addresses give way to a new speaker altogether, a closing example of a "reader" who properly mourns. The multiple addresses and speakers challenge the title "Monody," which denotes a single speaker. To further implode the individual point of view, the final six lines are spoken by an imagined mourner, as "if by

chance some Warrior led astray / Shall ramble here" (27-8). A favorite tactic in many texts, the Warrior's subsequent speech is also in quotation marks as an example of mourning; he cries "'Thy name shall live…And future heroes oft shall breathe a sigh, / O'er the lone spot'" (33-6).[61] The imagined Warrior character who speaks these final lines honoring the "immortalized" Hervey is an embodiment and example of the ideal reader. Walking through the poem's "awful shade" of cypress trees and couplets, the warrior-reader can pause and reflect on heroism and the importance of marking a famous "spot" for the "future." Additionally, ending with the Warrior's speech adds another layer of "immediate…thoughts" heard through silent reading, another "record" for readers to follow for lessons in mourning. Although the narrator asserts that "no sculptur'd marble grace his grave!" the warrior and "future heroes" are still privy to the hidden location of Hervey's grave (17, 35). Reading "Monody" is the only way to overcome this inconsistency and lack of precise gravesite or battlefield. The lineage of readers exampled in the final lines further instructs them in recording and "128nsanguine128[ing]" wartime losses (34). This too is the unspoken declaration of Robinson's "Stanzas," that "grateful" English citizens are the best "guards" or monuments for the dead (28). Their task is to read texts like the carved tree to remember, instead of being content with images of "gilded" monuments (26) or with Sargant's list of virtues: "honour, valour, worth" (6). Without the final shift to Sargant's exemplary character, her "Monody" would be much like other elegies that rely primarily on "worth" and "fame." Sargant, however, models the actions of thoughtful readers who contemplate and preserve the effects of war instead of reading war as entertainment or to find abstract

consolations. The warrior models the narrator's earlier address to the dead Hervey – "Thy name" – and makes a new verbal record on the "spot" both grave and page (34-6). Further, the warrior's concluding speech says that "Valor's self shall guard the Soldier's shrine" (32). Readers are the only ones who locate this shrine, in my reading, which subtly labels active readers as brave and valorous, the "future heroes" who will learn from this "spot."

Readers come to play an active role in the production of mourning and in preserving death records, modeled in Romantic war elegies by layering voices of the living. One periodical elegy of 1794 utilizes the same locative terms like "Here pause awhile" and "this stone" as Robinson and Sargant to immediately link grave and page (3). In the plainly titled "The annex'd elegy is on a gravestone in the churchyard at Hythe," readers are addressed as "thou… / That wander'st" but are later stopped short when two quoted lines of speech are tacked onto the end of the text (1-2). The new, final speaker models grieving practices that not only honor the dead, but engage groups of survivors as well. Though "The annex'd elegy" first lavishes praise on "two brothers," two fallen soldiers, the familiar wartime consolation of "fame" – the last unquoted word – is cut short by the concluding speaker (4, 16). This annexed voice in quotation marks reminds readers that "'One Brother still remains, to march or stand, / As God shall will, or his King commands'" (17-18). Fame – uncapitalized, unquoted, unpunctuated here – is quickly replaced with an example of what remains for the living to do, "march or stand" or contribute to elegies. As Sargant and Robinson repeat in their texts, this anonymous author includes the use of "No" forcefully at the beginning of lines to suggest the absence

or emptiness of "shrill Reveille" and "the drums" (9,11). In place of these empty shows is the speech, the example "to march or stand" for one's country for the duration of the war. Moreover, the quoted speech is footnoted as being written on the gravestone "in chalk by Lieut.-col Stedman. The others by Lord Fortescue." These layered voices – all united in the same stanza without spaces – challenge the notion that elegies are "ordered and contained," which is also denied through the quotes and epigraphs I discuss below (Ryan 249). In fact, shifting speakers and addresses force readers to attend to and merge different experiences of mourning, such as emptiness and readiness, and consequently consider the role of those left living.

To train readers to mourn the lives of those left behind by war, Sargant's "Sonnet I. On Seeing a Soldier's Funeral" ends not with the soldier's accolades but with a list of the living ones who lament him best: "parent," maid," and "hapless orphans" (10, 11, 13). Sargant chose to merge the elegy and the sonnet form, with its inherent turn in topic or view, in order to train readers to view or care for the living as well as the heroic dead. A few years earlier, Southey wrote his own "On a Soldier's Funeral," which turned from "the mute and mourning train" to heavenly meditations of the speaking "I" (8, 59). Sargant, however, avoids Southey's irregular stanzas as well as his interest in individual struggles with war and death. In doing so, she exemplifies possible goals for women's war elegies, namely, to avoid personal, effusive sentiment and to focus on groups of living mourners. To do so, the female point of view, the woman watching the funeral, gets abstracted in the formal expectations of the sonnet. Sargant's sonnet initially takes on the elevated language of a formal elegy like Southey's or Gray's "Elegy Written in a

Country Churchyard" when she writes the slow, measured description of "Borne to the grave by yonder weeping train" and "No more to wield th'ensanguin'd sword again" (1, 3). The speaker stands back, there is no use of "I" even after the volta to allow her to meditate on her experience, as Southey does. Interestingly, in the same 1817 collection, Sargant includes dozens of other sonnets that use varying degrees of subjectivity. The "Preface" to *Sonnets and Other Poems* bemoans the "necessity" of making poems "public" that were otherwise written in a "withdraw[n]" state, producing intimate texts like "Sonnet IX To My Brother" (x). The common locative language is seen again in this sonnet, as the speaker firmly asserts at the end that she will "make my grave" on "the spot where Henry bled," suggesting a physical journey to the battlefield in addition to the one through the page (13-14). However, the "Soldier's Funeral" sonnet allows readers to view a very different spot focused on the living. The "far distant" point of view and volta cause readers to turn towards a "native vale" instead of the funeral procession, where various people can better be seen that might spur "social criticism" or activism in the way Williamson describes (9). Indeed, Sargant's "decentered subjectivity" – which Patrick Vincent charts in many Romantic women's elegies – creates a public voice that, in this case, reflects on the once-private space of the home (30). Before shifting to living mourners at home, Sargant lulls readers into a familiar expression of wartime loss by using terms like "131nsanguine'd sword," "noblest deeds" and "unerring fate," which mirror the dozens of periodical elegies noted above that lament Nelson's death or Napoleon's ambition (3, 6, 7).

To exploit elegiac expectations further, the speaker, observing the "weeping train" walking to the graveyard, first finds some comfort for the fallen soldier by asserting that he is at "home" now instead of an "exile" and that he has earned "a deathless name" (1, 2, 4, 8). Unlike Lieutenant Hervey's "foreign" burial, there is no connection between home and abroad to be made, no space to collapse with the page. Yet the "weeping train" perhaps calls to readers' minds a "train" or "crowd" or "line" of troops and chargers, which in traditional elegy might become a procession that bears witness to the dead's virtues or even bear his body back in honor to the home front (Curran 248). The honorable soldier's "name" is expected to live on in memory, but it is not provided in the poem as if the term "soldier" is enough (8, 2). Beyond "soldier," Sargant soon turns to list other proper names that populate the center of her real place of interest in this elegiac sonnet, the home. Because so many war poems assert the home must be protected by war, as discussed in the previous chapter, Sargant uses "peaceful home" as a euphemism for heaven (2). The soldier "journeys to his peaceful home" which is a grave in England as well as the soul's original home in heaven. When the soldier left to protect home, and died in doing so, he left it doubly vulnerable. His rewarded home in heaven, moreover, is not yet available to those left at home in England during war. Sargant rhymes "home" and "roam" to emphasize the weakness of the popular claim, discussed in the previous chapter, that men protect home by roaming to foreign battlefields and thus leaving others at home destitute and perhaps roaming and begging (2, 4).

However, the volta marks the speaker's – and by extension readers' – shift from the familiar terminology of "fame" and "name" towards the living figures the soldier has

left behind at home (6, 8). The volta, on the one hand, is an expected element of the sonnet form, but on the other, it embodies the mental shift Sargant asks of readers: turn from the repeated consolations of glory and fame towards mending the living. Sargant's broad groups of "mourn[ers]" widen war's impact to "a parent," "faithful maid," and "widow'd form" (10-13). The sestet's list grows increasingly pathetic and distant from the funeral train. The poem's only long dash causes readers to pause before the list of groups commences. Following the Shakespearean sonnet form, Sargant has room for a second volta to occur in the concluding couplet. There, "hapless orphans feebly cling" (13). The tightening turns of the voltas finally rest readers on women and children ruined by war, the focal point for mourning in this wartime elegy. The second volta also allows a shift in pronouns that subtly emphasizes the overlooked sacrifice of women. The final clause of "Sonnet I" is "*her* bosom wring" (14, emphasis added). Here women cruelly treated by war, and therefore unprotected at home, share the space of the page with the last rites and "noblest deeds" of a war hero (16). Sargant's reliance on the sonnet form as well as contrasting rhyming words and pronouns offer a distant yet poignant view of wartime loss that readers are trained to look for. These characters, like the Warrior that rediscovers Hervey's grave, are imagined by the speaker, but guide readers to ask what remains to be done by the living, namely, to remember and soothe.

Hemans follows Sargant in uniting gendered experiences of war through structural manipulations in two elegies – one for a female and one for a male solider – printed on the same periodical page. In *Blackwood's* November 1827 issue, Hemans's poems "Woman on the Field of Battle" and "To the Memory of Lord Charles Murray"

were printed one after the other. When skimming this periodical page, readers catch the same words and the same use of italicized pronouns in each poem. For instance, the unnamed woman's "dust" lies by a "Banner and shivered crest" (23, 5) that corresponds to the "Banner and dirge [that] met proudly o'er thy grave" for Lord Murray's own "dust" and "mould heroic" (8, 11). Such overlapping language challenges the contemporary association of elegy with a male perspective by addressing the woman directly with "thou" and "thy dust" and outfitting her like Murray as "stately" and "bright" (Vincent 44). As Ryan describes, direct address causes the addressee, in this case the woman warrior, to be "realized" or fully present in the elegiac text (251). However, Lord Murray's funeral is detailed in ways the woman's is not, with "a noble rite" in a "lonely dwelling place" (4). The woman's "place" is literally questioned by an apparent shift in speaker: "How gave those haughty dead a place to thee?" and "Why camest thou here?" (15-16, 36). Again, "here" may suggest both battlefield and elegiac genre as contentious spaces for women to enter. Hemans suggest as much in her typical choice of historical tales of war and grief in *Records of Woman,* published a year after these paired poems. "To the Memory of Lord Murray" is one of the few truly topical elegies in her oeuvre; it reflects on a recent battle and an actual British solider rather than examining war through the legends and medieval tales she rewrites elsewhere. The topical nature of Lord Murray's elegy leads to a subtle critique of the absence of women in the genre through shifting addresses and pronouns.

The shifting, italicized pronouns first introduced in the biting questions in "Woman on the Field of Battle" contrast and draw together men's and women's roles in

the elegy. Words like "*thine*" and "*thee*" are italicized near the opening and close of the woman's elegy and readers skimming the periodical page would find a counterpart italicized "*She*" in Lord Murray's poem below (2, 17, 21). Taking a cue from Robinson and Sargant, Hemans shifts pronouns in the second half of Lord Murray's poem to assert women's place in elegy as record keepers. When the speaker turns to meditate on Lord Murray's mother, the meter also changes: "Vain voice of Fame! Sad sound for those who weep!" halts the rhythm and the focus of war elegy (13). The spondees emphasize the brief moment when earlier panegyric consolations like "Banner" and "bright" are undermined. The mother's "weep[ing]" concludes the poem addressed to her son and his accomplishments (13). In fact, her "thoughts a record keep," a "treasure" that outlasts the "noble rite" and "Fame" of the funeral celebration and even the page itself (15, 21). Hemans's textual shifts and italics suggest that such a "record" should be entered into war elegy. Just as the mother's sorrow and her recorded memories are apparently without end, so do Hemans's italics and repetition of language like "dust" send readers back again to the other italicized, questioned woman earlier on the page (21, 60).

Lesson 3: Challenging Personifications

Hemans contrasts "Fame" with the mother's mental records in the same way "The annex'd elegy" replaces "fame" with quoted speech from living soldiers; Romantic war poets thus prioritized reading and written records over "emotions…constructed by linguistic conventions" – in Mellor's paraphrase of Hume – and over the abstract consolations of heaven or virtue common to elegy (451). So far, none of the topical war

elegies discussed here have incorporated personifications as prominent emotions or characters that may destroy or console grief, which supports the common critical finding that Romantic elegies diminished the impact of consolation. The lengthy, publicized wars seemed to slowly increase poets' tendency towards individualization and concreteness, and away from personification and consolation. Because Romantic-era readers still expected tropes of consolation and personification, however, Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant briefly included figures like "Fame" – often with a "Vain voice" as Hemans notes – only to subordinate such figures to the important memorial acts of reading and writing. Personifications and consolations populated the elegiac page more frequently during the French Revolution years and Mary Robinson relied on them in numerous texts. However, she seemed aware of their increasingly empty assurances, as in her dismissal of "ostentatious woe" in the "Ode to the Memory of my Lamented Father," and at times used personifications to challenge common consolations. Robinson's "Lines to the Memory of a Young Gentleman" uses highly wrought language and many personified figures where her "Stanzas" has none. The personifications in "Lines" contribute to preserving memories of the dead, a role which reader-travelers assume in "Stanzas" and in most war elegies examined here. While "Lines" echoes earlier eighteenth-century elegies by women that "uniformly celebrated [soldiers'] valour," Robison briefly challenges the helpfulness of personified consolations like Fame and Virtue (Mellor 458).

Robinson's language like "Worth, too early to the grave consign'd" and "the incense of a tender tear" – which Sargant and Hemans's poems tend to employ but move away from – attempts to secure the gentleman's spotless memory, but such language soon

fails the "Muse" figure (1, 27, 29). In fact, Robinson uses the figures of "Worth, "Virtue," "Justice," and others to chart how a fallen soldier's memory is so quickly seized, celebrated, and perpetuated (1, 22, 19, 21). When this unnamed young gentleman was killed or, euphemistically, "press'd" to Fate's "flinty breast,"

> Bright JUSTICE darted from her bless'd abode,
> And bore thy VIRTUES to the throne of God;
> While cold OBLIVION, stealing o'er thy mind,
> Each youthful folly to the grave consign'd. (19-24)

Robinson uses these popular abstractions to outline the process of memory, or what gets remembered. Personifications of Justice or Virtue rightly surround the brave soldier as in earlier elegies that "enumerated…virtues and unfulfilled promise," but their grand presence obscures anything questionable (Mellor 445). In the face of Worth and "thy generous heart…so brave," "folly" fades and is forgotten (15-17). The closing lines mention only "thy pur*er* spirit" (25, emphasis added). However, the speaker earlier asserts that "all that live have felt" and experienced follies and "frailties," as if convincing herself and readers to excuse the dead man's flaws and continue honoring his virtue after death (14-5). The speaker gets hung up on the exposure of a hero's "frailties" and "folly," much like the inadequate gendered funerals that Hemans's overlapping poems reveal, to the point that most of "Lines" is couched in conditional language. The speaker states in the opening lines "to thee the Muse *shall* pay," but later "*if* the weeping Muse a wreath *could* give" (5, 29 emphasis added). The conditional verbs seem to suggest that the Muse's poem could be written, or is trying to be written, but the required trappings of "Virtue," "Fate," and "Justice" are getting in the way.

Robinson's clue to the other poem that the Muse "could give" lies in the last personified figure, which is termed feminine and guides readers towards a final, collective activity of memory (29). "Genius" laments "her darling Son," but only "if the weeping Muse a wreath could give" (33-4). Because another mourning poem is needed these lines are filled with conditionals, rather than imperatives found in so many war elegies by women. On its surface, the lamented son is the deceased gentleman, but because of the return to conditional tense after asserting his virtues, the ending lines could also read that Genius "mourn[s]" the unwritten or unheard poem the Muse is fostering in the earlier lines, which includes "frailties…/Which all should own, and all that live have felt" (14-6). Moreover, Robinson asserts that in Genius's "pensive form the world should view / The only Parent that thy sorrows knew" (35-6). Genius, perhaps the better author of the wished-for poem, is the most fitting figure to lament and remember this young man because she is aware of his faults and his pain that readers are supposed to gloss over with help from the figures of Virtue and Justice. The significance of this man's Genius being termed feminine is, perhaps, twofold. After "Justice," "Genius" is the only other female figure included in "Lines to the Memory of a Young Gentleman," and, unlike Justice, Genius does not resign or hide his flaws nor does she only reveal his virtues, she both "knew" and "mourn[ed]" the man's "sorrows" (34-6). In fact, as a model for Robinson's contemporary readers, Genius does not fully overlook his flaws but reads and knows them without condemnation. Robinson has a similar female personification in her much earlier and much more personal "Ode to the Memory of my Lamented Father." In that poem, "Meditation" is used to help readers survey the battle on

"her length'ning pinions…/ O'er the rough bosom of the boist'rous deep," where both valor and brutal deaths are seen (53-6). In both cases, similar to Sargant's concluding Warrior and "future heroes," female personifications like Meditation or Genius are not standalone consolations but stand in momentarily for a host of readers and mourners who are left behind to sort through sorrow, folly, and virtue (personal or political) in the aftermath of war.

In "The Medium of Romantic Poetry," Langan and McLane claim that "prosopopoeia (personification) [aims] to abolish our consciousness of the print (and writerly and alphabetic) media" (245). By revising or subverting personifications to prioritize representations and acts of reading, Robinson, Hemans and Sargant confirm my theory that instructing readers in the importance of printed materials was central to women's war elegies. For instance, personified "Vict'ry" and "Death" appear in the opening stanza of Sargant's "Monody," but these familiar war figures fade and are replaced with a written "roll" and a speaking "Warrior" (11-12, 27). While his speech briefly notes "Valour's self" protecting the gravesite, he concludes with an assertion of place rather than panegyric emotion as "future heroes" learn from this "spot" on the page and from his quoted speech (11-12, 32-36). But before that warrior-reader's entrance, Sargant continues to subvert the emotional or consolatory power of abstract figures when she juxtaposes "Vict'ry's arms" and "Soft Pity" with a later uncapitalized "fame" (11, 20). While Victory and Pity remain "stable emotive concepts," as Kate Singer describes personified figures, "fame" creates a new text: "she gives the roll that Time shall keep, / O'er Hervey's name in silent sorrow weep" (15-6). Termed feminine here, too, fame

creates a "roll" of "name[s]" to be consulted, to be read, throughout time. The speaker seems to imagine female scribes that sustain both wartime sorrow and fame through their records, a blend of instrumental and intuitive grief. It is not necessarily an oral history or a song, but a written roll read "in silent sorrow" that "fame" asks of readers, a firm connection to the advent of silent reading in the period (16). Moreover, Sargant has already established the importance of reading this "roll" in the very first line. Unlike Robinson's opening address to a "pensive trav'ller" Sargant's opening directive is "Pause! *reader*, pause!" (1, emphasis added). As readers approach the boundary of war elegy or monody, Sargant repeatedly redirects readers' attention from abstract emotions to the space of print.

Where personified emotions might have been a half-century before, figures of readers and writers curiously populate other Romantic poems from the reactionary post-war years in which Sargant first publishes.[62] Mellor notes that some Romantic elegies, especially Hemans's, at once offer "explorations" of grief and of "new lands," which are seen in two poems that transpose wartime mourning with travel perhaps to avoid criticism in the contentious years of reform meetings, debates, and the suspension of habeas corpus (449, 457). Written within a year of one another, Keats's now-canonical 1816 "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer" reveals a break or turn from the twenty-two years of political conflict and subsequent famine and unemployment whereas Sargant's critically overlooked 1817 "Monody to the Memory of Lieutenant W. Hervey" suggests the need to re-read and re-learn such conflicts. Like Robinson's "pensive trav'ller" who reads the "Carv'd" memorial in the tree, Keats's speaker has "travel'd"

and “many goodly states and kingdoms seen” in an allegory for reading famous texts (1-2); he even reveals the “Silent” staring and “wild surmise” that attends reading (13-14). But the burden of what to do with these discoveries and emotions is, like any political subtext, buried or subverted in order to prioritize both personal and national exploration.[63] Keats’s layers of exploration and conquest from Homer’s texts to Cortez’s actions keep the speaker from returning to the physical act of reading that Robinson and Sargant dramatize. Quite differently, Sargant foregrounds reading and remembrance of contemporary events through terms like “reader,” “roll,” and “this solemn spot,” as well as a sudden shift in speaker. The destination reached in Sargant’s armchair traveling is not an exotic, imagined location, but the page itself. It is a page that records national death and grief as opposed to the national expansion and attendant “surmise” of Keats’s Cortez (11-12). His more explicit war sonnet of 1814 “On Peace” also emphasizes travel, as the speaker goes with the personified Peace to view Europe’s “chains burst” and “this war-surrounded isle” transform into a “sweet mountain nymph” at Napoleon’s surrender (12, 2, 8). Doing away with abstractions in the “Chapman’s Homer” sonnet, Keats compares reading to scientific discovery and national conquest. Sargant’s warrior, on the other hand, *is* a reader rather a figure compared to reading; he has “ramble[d] here” in the text to find an unmarked grave on which to mourn (27-8). As noted a above, Sargant’s text is the only map or marker to the unmarked gravesite that the warrior seems to have followed, which suggests reading is linked to understanding England’s recent wars where Hervey died. These late Romantic texts that prioritize reading and avoid personified

emotions reveal the prominence of print and silent reading, which can be modeled for personal and public purposes.

When personifications and comparisons fade away, the page appears as a physical training ground for memory. The female-authored elegies surveyed here end with reading a carved tree-memorial, the muse writing follies and virtues, a reading warrior, visiting favorite places via the page, and a list of living people to remember. As Mellor states, even "devout" Romantic-era poets "focus less on the rewards of heaven" or the rhetoric of glory. Though Mellor finds most women elegists are interested in "the trials of women's suffering," with occasional consolations of death, war elegies often made reading itself a consolation or solution because it helps secure memory (458). Instead of articulating individual suffering, elegiac speakers linked exploring printed pages to preserving the memory of the dead, that ongoing grief act central to women's elegies. Common elegiac personifications and consolations – signifiers of emotion – thus gave way to figures of readers and writers. Robinson hints at this subordination of abstract language to the page as early as her 1786 "Ode." Though filled with personified figures, Robinson ends with the use of "There" and a dismissal of "ostentatious woe"; these early revisions of elegy are aided by that feminine figure of Meditation, coupled with Remembrance in this text. In all capital letters "REMEMBRANCE" is urged to "turn, *and turn to mourn*:" (54). The repetition of "turn" and the punctuation slow down the elegy – as explicated by the next word "Slowly" – and locate memory itself on the page (55). Robinson's only use of italics here also highlights the text and its turning to preserve memory. Further, the colon establishes that the place Remembrance turns to is

that of the page, its white space where "There" soon appears to detail the naval battle. Robinson's elegies chart the turn from personification to page, from an individual grieving a dead father to negotiating national memory.

Lesson 4: Intertextuality

As I have mentioned, Mellor sees eighteenth-century women's elegies as primarily lamenting or critiquing causes of wartime death, but Romantic-era elegies subordinate causes to "effects," skillfully argued in Kenneth R. Johnston's examination of Wordsworth's "The Ruined Cottage" (37). Women poets elegizing war similarly train readers to think of effects, what can be done now to help the living and to secure memory of wartime losses. Through the textual strategies explored above, from locative words to shifting addresses, women elegists train readers to pursue not "individual anguish but…cultural mourning" (Mellor 452). To further model the collective act of reading and writing grief, imbricated voices are developed through speaking characters, quotation marks, and epigraphs or footnotes. Such intertextuality explicates the notion of records found throughout Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant's war elegies; actual records are made not only on the printed page, but in an amalgamation of quoted speeches and allusions to other texts. Once again, the typical elegy that expresses and often overcomes individual suffering is complicated by the mixture of voices and the oft absent "I." Prefiguring women war elegists' attention to intertextual, communal mourning is "The annex'd elegy," which is oddly affixed to a dialogic poem "The Farmer and Labourer" from *The Scots Magazine* (in which "Public good" causes a violent invasion) and is further

surrounded by text in its lengthy epigraph and footnote. In the epigraph, dates and town names are given as Henry and Will Harding, fallen brothers "in the N. Devon Militia," are introduced. But the elegy does not speak directly to the brothers, as implied by the biographical epigraph. Wanderer-readers are instead addressed who must "Here pause awhile, and let this stone relate" their deaths (3). Epigraph, speaker, and visiting readers are all engaged in layers of silent reading: of gravestone, of elegy and epigraph, of the framing poem that also examines England's internal and international battles.

The last two quoted lines and corresponding footnote in "The annex'd elegy" most firmly reveal the power intertextuality may have in developing further reading habits. The speaker scarcely ends his reading of "this stone" – he is given no concluding punctuation – before the quoted voice of the living interrupts: "'One brother still remains, to march or stand, / As God shall will, or as his King commands'" (3, 17-18). This vocalization makes good on the elegy's earlier promise that "in their comrades' hearts…still lives their name," the same names on epigraph and stone (14-15). Reading the gravesite – seemingly the same as the printed elegy that relates "this stone" – prompts this quoted response. Whereas Robinson's "Ode" uses quotation marks from "the tongue of Death" as consolation that "'He toils no more!'" both "The annex'd elegy" and Sargant's "Monody" employ quotes from wartime survivors that encourage continued memory and activity in honor of the dead (7). Moreover, the quoted speech in "The annex'd elegy" is footnoted as being written on the gravestone "in chalk," which allows the lines to appear both spoken and written as in silent reading. The quoted, cited speech is an astonishing example of recording and creating a text. Indeed, the chalk-writer,

identified as Stedman, moves from reading elegies to writing them. In her examination of Charlotte Smith's *Elegiac Sonnets,* Adela Pinch similarly finds that the acts of quoting or writing, modeled in women's war elegies, signify that one truly feels grief (63). Sargant's reader-warrior also creates a quoted record of grief at the end of "Monody." "'Farewell,'" the warrior says, "'future heroes oft shall breathe a sigh, / O'er the lone spot where Hervey's relics lie'" (31-32). The nod to "future heroes" suggests the perpetual influence of written memorials, which is further dramatized by the conspicuous quotation marks around his speech (35). His voice is heard and recorded via quotation marks by the speaker, whose "footsteps" readers may follow as they too record their experiences "Here" (13). As in "The annex'd elegy," concluding quotes reinforce Sargant's opening address for readers to pause and examine the page, which ultimately fills with acts of writing and recording various mourning voices.

Another intertextual strategy for uniting mourning and reading is the use of epigraphs that, like quoted speeches, create layers of mourning voices in the seemingly singular elegy. Epigraphs and quotation marks not only make voice "visible," but model acts of transcribing and imitating for readers (Vincent 27). Sargant's "Monody" begins with an epigraph from Ossian. On the one hand, the excerpt prepares readers for a pastoral elegy with "beam[s]" that fade and return and "mist" that a speaker must transcend in order to find "glory." On the other, the name Ossian alludes to an earlier literary fad for ancient English works and a literary debate about authenticity. Maureen N. McLane has noted that James Macpherson's "translations" of manuscripts and creation of the "poet-figure" Ossian signals "the introduction of orality into print form,"

which corresponds to Sargant's use of written rolls and quoted speeches (20, 184). Sargant's "Monody" thus establishes a lineage with ancient battles for "glory" and with Ossian's elegiac texts on those occasions to encourage prolonged reading in the genre and even expansion of it, as she models in her speaking characters and avoidance of consolation. Robinson too places a brief quote from Alexander Pope at the outset of "Lines to the Memory of a Young Gentleman": "Fate snatch'd him early to the pitying sky." Switching the pronoun from Pope's 1717 "Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady," Robinson then incorporates this personified "Fate" into her elegy, but her Fate does not graciously whisk the gentleman away to "the pitying sky." Instead, Robinson's "Fate" is "ruthless" and with "flinty breast," suggesting a lineage of elegists with a different "Muse" and different goals for "recording" death and grief (19, 20, 29). As Fate "press'd" the man forcefully into death instead of "snatch[ing]" him from harm's way, Robinson sidesteps the consolation of a "pitying" heaven (19). Epigraphs and allusions – "sound bites" in Pinch's term – ensure that lessons in mourning from various voices and periods are imbricated but nonetheless equally prominent (60). Robinson and Sargant's intertextual, imbricated elegies encourage further reading and writing of other accounts that mourn or honor the dead, promoting prolonged and thoughtful engagement with wartime loss.

Lastly, Hemans predicates an 1823 historical elegy on intertextual reading, particularly on a war text from a woman, which the speaker struggles to find. First published in the *New Monthly Magazine,* "The Effigies" relies on the "image" and "records" on tombs to discover the voices of a "Warrior" and wife (1, 5). Though the

speaker pauses because the inscriptions "Have faded from the stone," she soon asserts "I trace / What thou hast been and done" (7-8). The speaker replaces the initial description of the Warrior's "shield and crested head," denoting "many a fight," with her own "record" or "trace" of the dead couple (2, 10). The stanzas in which the speaker reads and records these tombs anew are double the length of the opening two stanzas that locate the tombs in a medieval cathedral with heroic, "proudly" designed trappings (3). Another two, long stanzas unequivocally celebrate the warrior's "war-cry" and "arm that bravely bore the lance" (11, 13). These victories and his "name" are "thy reward," though the name is missing, "faded" from the inscription (21, 24). The gift of a renowned name, now ironically lost to time, prompts the speaker to contemplate a nearby tomb-text. Addressed as "Woman" and asked too about "*thy* tale," this stone commands the last half of the poem in four long stanzas (29). Again, women's war elegies employ shifting addresses and pronouns to train an increasingly literate public during the war years and to incorporate women's records into the genre. Some Readers are potentially prepared for Hemans's shift to the woman's story because "The Effigies" is framed with an epigraph from Goethe's 1779 play *Iphigenia in Tauris*. However, the meaning behind this quote may be lost on many readers as it is in the original German and it provides only the author, not the work from which it is taken:

> "Der rasche Kampf verewigt einen Mann:
> Er falle gleich, so preiset ihn das Lied
> Allein die Thranen, die unendlichen
> Der uberbliebnen, der varlass'nen Frau,
> Zahlt keine Nachwelt" – *Goethe.*

It is translated as follows:

> Rash combat oft immortalizes man;
> If he should fall, he is renowned in song;
> But after ages reckon not the tears
> Which ceaseless the forsaken woman sheds;
> And poets tell not of the thousand nights
> (Act 5 Scene 6, translated by Anna Swanwick, 1860).

Readers must do some translation work, but the epigraph foreshadows the poem's main problem with records through the terms "verlass'nen" (forsaken) and "Frau" (woman). Though the first-person pronoun is missing, the quote excerpts the middle of one of Iphigenia's last speeches to King Thoas, in which she also commands him to "unhand thy weapon…my lot consider." Iphigenia seeks an end to "bloody proofs" and negotiates for her and her brother Orestes' freedom (5.6). Hemans thus begins the "record" and "trace" of the warrior and wife with yet another amalgamation of voices, from Sophocles to Goethe. The epigraph creates a precedent for women's records and a guide for continued reading of those records in Goethe and even Hemans. However, the remainder of the last line is cut off in Hemans's text: "und der Dichter schweigt" (and the poets keep silent). As "The Effigies" moves from immortal man to forsaken woman, Hemans reflexively emphasizes the role of poets (Dichter) to number (Zahlt), to write, a complete record of wartime grief.

Though the woman's record is described as "the void, the gloom," Hemans reflexively refers to her own text to fill the void of women's records: "What bard hath sung of *thee*? (34, 32). Readers know in response that Hemans makes the song by

chronicling the woman's "weeping midnight prayers" and "Vigils of anxious thought" (45, 52). Yet again the speaker echoes Goethe's Iphigenia, *"These* fill no minstrel strains" (48). Hemans applies the "self-reflexive impulse" of many female-authored elegies to the genre itself, highlighting her own act of writing elegy with repeated italics and references to bards and minstrel strains (Ryan 249). Drawing attention to the act of reading tomb inscriptions and writing more complete records further incorporates other, "obscure" voices for readers to hear from (59). These voices may also outline a relationship between the speaker-writer and grieving female ancestors or earlier elegists as Vincent and Curran note. Moreover, readers are asked to consider how elegy can be expanded or improved. Hemans again exclaims "when did *Fame* take heed / Of griefs obscure as these?" (59-40). This critical point about the genre of war elegy at the same time allows Hemans to rewrite it by recording the woman's specific hardships during war and how she mourned, placing them on the page with her husband's oft elegized "victorious fate" on the foreign battlefield (31). The reflexive mention of her own text helps Hemans collapse time and space within the page so that readers can learn about and perhaps right the tradition of elegy. Indeed, Hemans does not return to the warrior and his brave acts or famous name, but lingers with the woman's stone, which suggests she was "happier than thy lord" and, implicitly, essential to elegy's lessons in mourning (55).

Conclusion

The war elegy, in the hands of several Romantic women poets, guided readers to strengthen their reading skills and instigated them to become writers or recorders.

Locative words, intricate shifts in stanza and speech, and moments of intertextuality make the elegy less about individual grief or transcendence and more about preserving, even sharing, grieving activities. At times, the place of the gravesite and the place of the printed page merge. The page then records voices and virtues of the dead as well as the living. This lesson in creating records for the living stems from women's authority in conduct books and expressions of sensibility as well as the advent of silent reading. Silent reading prompted many writers to more closely orchestrate their page to dramatize the importance of the reading, particularly during times of great national mourning. To avoid elegiac panegyric effusions or heavenly consolations for national tragedies, Mary Robinson, Jane Alice Sargant, and Felicia Hemans framed their war elegies with references to reading or incorporated structural shifts that compelled active reading. Lists of living sufferers, quotes from model readers, and subverted personified consolations not only highlight the educational potential of the page but also encourage a more collective approach to grief. In fact, as I turn in the final chapter to locate the individual, speaking "I" behind Romantic women's war poems, tropes of wanderers and exiles replace figures that read or write. Though writing in the first-person, evocations of and comparisons to wanderers aptly conveyed women's status during war from the battlefield to the literary marketplace.

CHAPTER V

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL WANDERING IN THE ROMANTIC WAR LYRIC

After the battlefield, home, and graveyard there seems few other places that Romantic war poets might engage with and manifest on the printed page. Courts or foreign countries are certainly viable and available settings for further studies on women's war poetry, but when we ask what happens when one leaves the home and battlefield, we find a rather strange, liminal space. Instead of distant speakers that encourage readers to travel or wander through the elegiac page in order to preserve memories of the dead, first-person speakers appropriate the act of wandering to represent personal and political placelessness. Indeed, several poems by Mary Robinson and Felicia Hemans explicitly examine a liminal space between home and abroad, that abroad often being another war-torn country. As each poet approaches this in-between space, a space still yoked to a context of conflict, two important features take shape in their texts: a more personal, speaking "I" and the use of wandering or exiled characters and language. The in-between location becomes a fertile one for a poetic speaker or character to engage in reflection, particularly on present conflicts in society or the self. Speakers might refer to themselves as exiles or describe another wandering character, upon whom additional thoughts or fears of the speaker are projected. Consider the "involuntary exile" lamented by the speaker of Charlotte Smith's *The Emigrants* (1793), a text which is

foundational for viewing other revisions of the Romantic lyric (1.156). The speaker not only finds an affinity between herself and the French clergymen and mother at the height of the French Revolution, but she repeatedly positions each figure as "wand'ring" on the "shore" (1.295, 7, 63). [64] Smith's text establishes the ocean or shore as a liminal space – echoed by Robinson and Hemans – and suggests the tension that surrounds a woman's speaking "I" when it engages with wartime debate: "I labour – as the baffled wave…to fail again" and "my voice / Was seldom heard" (I.71-73, II.388-389). Therefore, this chapter turns to examine the lyrical, speaking "I" in women's war poetry who is likened, perhaps because of wartime disruption and societal constraints, to a wanderer, pilgrim, or exile.

I have limited my search for first-person war poems to those with explicit references to political conflict in titles, topics, and word choice. It is in this lyric staging or expression of war that liminal settings and wandering figures most clearly appear. With these parameters, however, the net of available poems drastically decreases. Of course, a myriad of first-person poems by women exist from the long Romantic war period, often meditations on abstract emotions like Melancholy and Friendship or detailed scenes of nature and society. For instance, in the same 1817 collection in which Jane Alice Sargant challenges common wartime topics and genres, as previously surveyed in "The Disbanded Soldier's Lament" and the tragic love story in "Ballad," she also repeatedly laments "youth's bright dreams" and her affinity with the "lovely" yet "drooping" snowdrop in dozens of sonnets and stanzas. In fact, her series of apparently personal and meditative sonnets led contemporary reviewers to praise her as a poetic

descendant of Charlotte Smith.[65] This comparison calls to mind again the parallel periods of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. Certainly Smith and Sargant's shared trope of comparing Care or Sorrow to a "cruel tyrant" that "wring[s] my heart" and causes "my faded cheeks" can be an enlightening nod to wartime discourse and to constructions of self or of experience in the period.[66] At the same time, personal expressions may be used to deflect or mask the political undertones of words like "tyrant." However, I have largely left behind such lyrics that paint explicitly personal effusions in order to draw out the relationship between using liminal settings in war verse and revealing the tension inherent in the woman writer's speaking "I" when it seeks to fully articulate emotions or experiences during war. Emotions of pain and desire are present and intertwined with liminality in the war lyrics below, but I will primarily discuss romantic love as a cause or symptom of liminal wandering.

In the nebulous lyric genre, the speaking "I" is never a 1:1 match to the writer but an ambiguous blend of expression and artifice. Further, in Scott Brewster's re-examination of the lyric's historical trajectory he identifies the Romantic period as the moment when the dominant view of the lyric began to crystallize into a private expression or effusion rather than a dramatized address.[67] This means that, particularly for writers spanning the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the concept or aim of writing and printing a personal, private expression was relatively new and the construction of the lyric genre was in flux. In the Romantic period, then, the lyric genre was in its own in-between, transitional space. Eventually, the Romantic lyric came to be, and still is, viewed as out of time, a personal expression of universal feelings given by a

speaker to himself or herself or to no one (Brewster 18). Yet the displaced audience is still required to respond to the speaking "I" as well as the physical features and effects of the text to thereby confirm the individual expression, paradoxically, as representative of humankind. Marlon B. Ross argues that, through a poetic quest for or creation of self, primarily male Romantic poets "help[ed] teach the English to universalize the experience of 'I.'" And in turn, establishing this representative voice was akin to worldly power (33). Thus, Adorno articulates that a lyric is most socially aware and instructive when it looks solely and closely at this "I," when it "remain[s] unaffected by bustle and commotion" of society, as perhaps seen in the descriptive, expressive lyrics of Smith and Sargant noted above (37). In such a theory, the lyric speaker appears as an unwilling party in society, opposing yet manifesting that society in the text; take Childe Harold's "I have not loved the world, nor the world me" declaration, for instance (3.113). Through the "I's" internal revolutions, readers see the opposite, "a photographic negative," of sociopolitical conflict, as later termed by Hugh Grady (551).

Though the concept of the universal "I" is so commonly accepted as a key Romantic ideology, many of these same scholars rightly counter this concept with time-bound lyrics from the period, particularly important in periods of war. The lyric's success has "often been linked to the expression of a sense of nationhood," hence the tropes of martial quest and conquest outlined by Ross (Brewster 8). Many nineteenth-century anthologies celebrated artistic achievements as tools for celebrating "the dominant language of the world" and "the natural growth and evolution of our Poetry [which] present[s] a certain unity" (Palgrave 7, 9). Similarly, one of Samuel Baker's definitions of

Romantic-era culture – which he traces through maritime imagery – is "the spirit or the mind of the individual, and thereby of the group, especially the nation" (83). So, if the lyric is often showcased as part of a particular nation's prowess, it must be thought to provide or instruct its readers in some way with knowledge of the dominant culture. For Romantic Britain this culture is inextricably linked to war and political conflict. Betty T. Bennett's groundbreaking anthology of periodical war verse between 1793 and 1815 reveals many occasional poets using the speaking "I," if sparingly, to validate wartime scenes. Several sonnets and stanzas use "I saw" or "I mark'd" to frame battle scenes or to establish one's own wartime action, as in Thomas Day's 1793 "The Disgusted Patriot": "To Liberty I vow…he that violates its shade shall bleed!" (line 16). These brief examples reveal one facet of the changing relationship between war scenes and the speaking "I" during the Romantic era. Even in Bennett's anthology, one traces a shift in the lyric "I" from creating an objective framework for sociopolitical events to more personal expressions of "I hate" or "I love" England or France. [68] Eventually poets test out wartime desires through these individual speakers, as in W.A.'s 1812 "Stanzas" whose speaker yearns to escape from war's "clangous trumpet" by asserting "I'll seek the silver moonbeam" (7, 3). The "I" is developed by here by contrasting the battlefield with the nature he desires, merging occasional with meditative lyric which Brewster discusses as a linear progression (Brewster 35). In these brief examples, W.R. Johnson's three types of lyric address begin to appear: 1) I-You, 2) personal, private meditation, and 3) dramatic monologue, all of which appear in the lyrics below (32). Because the parameters I set on women's wartime lyrics include explicit references to England's past or present

wars and tropes of wandering, this chapter helps redefine the genre's tension between private, distinct expression and national commentary.

In the first-person lyrics by Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant that explicitly acknowledge their wartime context, curious discussions of exiles and continually unplaced settings such as the rough ocean are central. The tension between a seemingly personal speaker and their citizen status during war, I argue, led these women writers to choose liminal settings and themes of exile. These choices represented a new space to experiment with the reflective mode while oceans and exiles represented too the sociopolitical tension publishing women contended with in the long Romantic war era. In addition to tension in the literary marketplace, exiles and oceans represented "the modern world as ultimately a world of flux and circulation," opened up by continental war (Baker 6). Not only were provinces of war and literary scholarship theoretically off-limits for women – and, as Stuart Curran notes, these "ideological control[s]" had "remarkable intensity" – but war was increasingly associated with (male) mental prowess (195).[69] As political power shifted in the period from physical to "mental operations," women writers fought to establish their own credibility on wartime topics and experience through revisions of the lyric (Ross 31). Instead of "presenting the unmediated, spontaneous" cry or "156rivilege[ing] abstraction and timelessness" in the burgeoning conception of the lyric, Romantic women poets located their first-person speakers in wartime debate and experience (Brewster 33). As the "I" points to political themes, her wandering intensifies as embodied in many lyric texts by repeated active verbs and by revising the common feature of address or apostrophe.

By 1812, however, women were officially dubbed as "wander[ers]" in a publishing sense thanks to Anna Letitia Barbauld, should they publish personal political critique. The language in the infamous review of her *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* firmly separates women from war yet casts the publishing woman as liminal, a wanderer. According to the *Quarterly Review* Barbauld "has *wandered* from the course in which she was respectable and useful, and miserably mistaken both her powers and her duty" (emphasis added). The reviewer calls the latter "her knitting needles." The negative connotations of wandering – especially prominent just before the Romantic period – are here piled on; the publishing woman has wandered into error in sexual, religious, and literary senses.[70] To wander professionally or topically seems a familiar indictment and provides useful context for understanding the motives and revisions of the act of wandering these three poets repeatedly create in their wartime lyrics both before and after this review. Moreover, the review reinforces the "ideological control[s]" that separate "knitting" from "empire," women's work from men's, which women writers navigated and attempted to bridge in this period.

Such sociopolitical tension in first-person war lyrics by women corresponds to a small genre pool. Far more popular, as seen in previous chapters, are ballads and metrical narratives with distinct characters.[71] The use of "I" paired with a direct statement on war is avoided by many women. In Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant's lyrics the tension is bridged with liminal settings and wandering characters. While this is a small group with few such poems that unite liminality and exile, particularly when critiquing war, they can importantly be seen as descendants of Charlotte Smith's *The Emigrants* and *Elegiac*

Sonnets, in the latter of which water and waves, as Kate Singer claims, "offer both literal and metaphorical transformations of the speaker and her embodiment" (180). I argue that, when approaching political themes or events, positioning a speaker or creating a character as a wanderer or exile was the preferred mode chosen by these three women poets. Their use of exiled, first-person speakers or wandering personas conveyed the isolation caused by decades of war, poignantly felt by women in literary and social spheres. Women were still considered emblems of the private, domestic realm but encountered ideological tension when directly participating in wartime dialogue and activity. In searching for the most fitting vehicles for supposedly personal, direct reflections on war, women poets often selected liminal settings, wandering figures, and corresponding twisting addresses and stanza structures. Just as women's war elegies turn to address the reader as a necessary actor in preserving records of wartime loss, the use of first-person in wartime lyrics also identifies the act of writing as a crucial coping mechanism during periods of political conflict.

Seaside Settings

The clearest case of women poets situating their reflections on war in liminal settings comes right in the title of Mary Robinson's lyric, "Stanzas. Written between Dover and Calais, in July 1792." Robinson immediately locates the act of writing – and consequently the personal, speaking "I" – "between" two precise places, two warring countries. This "between," of course, is the English Channel, the sea setting Robinson, Hemans, and even Smith chose to convey liminal spaces and women's wartime

expression. Though Robinson's title announces a liminal, transitional setting, it also prompts readers to contemplate war. Coupled with the proposed destination of Calais, Robinson's assigned date alludes firmly to the French Revolutionary Wars. She composes "Stanzas" a mere three months after the French Legislative Assembly declared war against the Holy Roman Empire and invaded part of Austria. As Robin Jarvis observes, "by mid- to late 1792 public opinion in Britain had begun to harden against" the French Revolution at the onset of Terror (15). Of similar consequence, July 1792 saw the proclamation of the Brunswick Manifesto, in which the Allied Army vowed to restore King Louis XVI to monarchical power and instate martial law against all opposed (Emsley 3, 13). Though news of the Manifesto had not yet traveled to England, Robinson does knowingly send her speaker towards a war zone, a "hostile shore," that looks less and less like the liberty she largely supported for France (67). Shores and coasts, Singer explains, are not only liminal but international, much like Childe Harold's "Thy shores are empires" metaphor (3.182). Poised for foreign invasion and internal counter-revolution, France's shore and surrounding waves help Robinson create both political and personal tension.[72]

"Stanzas" creates two layers of tension between the personal and the political that result in liminal settings: the (in)ability of women to speak on war and the supposed authenticity of lyrical expression. Indeed, the speaker frustrates readers' expectations by meditating on her watery surroundings and on the lover she left behind instead of wartime debates and scenes suggested by the title. In the opening quatrain, the sea is chastised for the speaker's transitional state, "Bounding billow, cease thy motion, / Bear

me not so swiftly o'er!" (1-2). The churning sea's force is conveyed in the repeated "b" sounds, each initiating a trochaic foot and obscuring the speaker's connection with political context. Though the heaving movement is stalled by two commas in the first line, it quickly returns to launch the swifter second line in which the speaker first expresses her personal desire to slow down. Because the act of writing has been located in this churning sea, thanks to the title, the use of first-person comes to seem incredibly personal as if one is overhearing Robinson's own thoughts. The following quatrains even announce the "woman's heart" that is "beating" and "Varying" like the churning ocean; it "Throbs by turns of joy and pain!" (11, 5, 6, 8). As the speaker continues to weave between describing the surrounding water and contemplating her changing emotions, a seemingly authentic revelation and address to a past lover spills out: "Ev'ry day I loved thee more" (48). At the same time, the sea and its "breezes" are used structurally to frame the poem and to create several points of comparison with the dispossessed speaker (67). Already Robinson's "Stanzas" present the theoretical tension between unmediated expression and mediated speech in lyric poetry, though the growing Romantic and Modern view that a lyric should present an authentic emotional expression seems to be in Robinson's wheelhouse by this time. Still, she firmly chooses the liminal setting of the English Channel, with its political undertones and changeable waters, as a fitting location for mediating the speaker's fluctuating emotions.

A liminal seaside setting is similarly used to incorporate political undertones into Jane Alice Sargant's unassuming "Sonnet X," from her series embedded in the 1817 *Sonnets and Other Poems*.[73] After a threatening scene of "Winter drear" where clouds are

"blacken'd" and winds "sear" the earth, the octave is overtaken by an ocean scene (1, 2, 4). Following the heritage of abstract personification in many lyrics, particularly by women, Sargant first places "mute Despair upon the rushing wave," but denies the speaker any first-hand expression of her despair or situation (5). Instead, the liminal location is repeated in each subsequent line from "foaming" to "o'erwhelming billows," suggesting a more specific and political motivation for the speaker who, like England, is open on all sides to the ocean and to attack (7, 8). "Unnumber'd victims" forcefully enter the stormy scene at the moment of volta, falling prey to "fate" and filling "early grave[s]" (9, 10). The image is one of a shipwreck, but subtly linked to martial language like "Triumphant," "victims," and "conflicting rage," which echoes propaganda and debate seen in contemporary newspapers, pamphlets, and poetry (6, 9, 12). Nearby in Sargant's sonnet series, this language is applied to fears for her military brothers who are "to honour dear" and full of "Noble deeds of glory," ("Sonnet to My Brother" 8-9) but are also deaf to "Fond entreaties" when "fame" is rooted in their hearts ("Song" 7, 11). Like the failed "entreaties," the shipwreck scene in "Sonnet X" leads to "conflicting rage" and conflicting details from nature and war. Within her controlled, first-person sonnets, Sargant often uses ocean scenery and the engine of the volta to subtly make room for political commentary in a text that otherwise begins abstractly with "mute Despair."

The introduction and repetition of the "Ocean's breast" in "Sonnet X" frames a space for political language – a framework also seen in parts of Child Harold's canto IV of the following year – though the ocean setting lacks the tradition and fixedness of battlefield or court where most political debates stem from (10). The sonnet ends "upon

the whiten'd shore," a clearly liminal setting chosen to present a strangely un-capitalized "mis'ry" who roams and listens to the "conflicting rage" (12). As Celeste Langan contends, any form of wandering "disowns any fixed or permanent sense of the self (237)." Termed feminine and, I argue, a proxy for the speaker, "mis'ry" at once "listen[s]" and "pour[s]" out "her sorrows" to the turbulent ocean. The language of "pour" points to the "effusion" or "confess[ion]" expected in Romantic lyrics, as described in several contemporary essays by Newman and Mill.[74] However, no direct details from the speaker or misery follow the need to "pour," suggesting instead that she is trapped in a transitional, fluctuating place and contending with other voices to be heard. The "conflicting rage" of contemporary debates about "Unnumber'd victims" and "Triumphant" victory are presented, but never completed, by the speaker. Unobtrusive "mis'ry," in the end, is caught between her unheeded actions of listening and lamenting, suggested by the liminal setting of the shore where Smith's emigrants also wait. Sargant thus incorporates abstract personifications and emotional effusion, but ultimately renders these lyric conventions futile by virtue of the speaker's conflict with and seaside separation from political voices or debates. After the speaker-misery's need to "pour" out her sorrows, "Sonnet X" ends with an unidentified quote about "'Time, and alone, can e'er assuage'" (14). The quotation marks suggest another voice, which also takes the place of the speaker's political lament. Therefore, the full expression of the speaker's, or misery's, seaside lament is postponed, awaiting a moment of less conflict; hence Sargant's liminal setting is used to imply and yet mask the sociopolitical tension of women speaking war.

The encompassing liminal landscape in Robinson's "Stanzas. Written Between Dover and Calais" absorbs, before helping to convey, the tension surrounding women lyricists who use the increasingly personal "I" to share an experience rooted in the context of conflict. Despite the wartime framework of the title and the setting, Robinson's speaker first describes the natural scene and her private emotions, though these more familiar aspects of lyric eventually share the page with political language. Initially, the speaker feels an affinity with "the troubled deep" because of her "grief" at the end of a long love affair with an "ungrateful rover," possibly the famous general Banastre Tarleton (18, 27, 65).[75] Both parties have wandering epithets that dramatize sexual and political error. The use of dozens of verbs – from "rover" to "wav'ring" to "ranging" – suggest that the speaker is taking cues from the changeable ocean setting in order to describe her situation and feelings which may not otherwise have found shape (40, 29). The verbs further emphasize her transitional or wandering state, in which power is being transferred from England to France, from shared love to her own "Mem'ry," political undertones just beneath the surface of the ocean imagery. Watery descriptors and contrasts help the speaker remain connected to her lover and by extension England at least for the space of the poem, until she is ready to "Welcome Gallia's hostile shore" (65). Further, she compares their past relationship to her present rough ship ride, "When the storms of fortune press'd thee, / I have sighed to hear thee sigh" and now "disdains the thought of changing" their shared state (53-4, 31). The language of storms and change arises in relation to the variable English Channel which is first a "rage" and later a "breeze" when close to France's shore, signaling the speaker's acceptance of her new

state. While readers simultaneously experience the sea-like churns in this love story and consider the martial position of the Channel as suggested by the titular conflict, the first-person speaker, seemingly comparable to Robinson, struggles to directly link her meditations to war. War is almost entirely absorbed by the emotional meditation of "I" and the ocean's descriptors like "rage," "troubled," and "foamy." Just as Curran claims Charlotte Smith "creates her own identity…by *absorbing* [the] emptiness" of her characters, so too does Robinson find absorbing the changeable, liminal sea to be necessary for her speaker to articulate experiences of love, loss, and eventually sociopolitical conflict (201).

To prepare or establish women's changing sociopolitical options during periods of heightened conflict, the speaker's intimate acquaintance with the churning sea is a necessary framework. Periodically, the speaker suddenly acknowledges the "age of worldly woe" and "Gallia's hostile shore," nods to the political climate of July 1792 (42, 66). The speaker notes that through this wartime "woe" she has been a steadfast lover, though that has not shielded her from "foes" at home or from isolation on the Channel (9). The use of "foe," "woe," and "hostile" for both places designated in the title not only reveals that war rots both countries, but also solidifies the speaker's futile and unstable wandering, she is only escaping from one conflict into another. Despite the impending "hostile shore" that only promises more woe, the speaker asserts "Nor could threats or fears alarm me" (51). Here the brief but forceful use of wartime language becomes a defense of self as well as of the nation. As self and national defense rise to the surface of the poem, watery wandering becomes an important backdrop that facilities this

connection. The speaker's boast of having no fear in an age of "alarm" is compounded by her similar promises to hide visible signs of grief in the future. Within her painful recollections of the "ungrateful rover" and realization that "Love and Hope are vanish'd," the speaker also asserts that "Not one sigh shall tell my story / Not one tear my cheek shall stain" (14, 24-6). As her political and social statuses change, acknowledged in the repeated comparisons to the changing, churning waters, the speaker decides to recreate herself in opposition to personal and wartime "alarm" that so often leaves women lyricists sighing and weeping like Sargant's "mis'ry." "Stanzas. Written between Dover and Calais" insists on women's wartime opposition or absence through the repetition of "Not one" or "no," which forcefully frame several quatrains. The brief use of wartime language leads to the speaker's repeated defense of herself as a woman opposed to becoming overwhelmed by wartime threats and opposed to visibly exposing effusive emotions the lyric text.[76]

Robinson's repetition of "no" and "nor" in "Stanzas" – often initiating strong, trochaic quatrains – is a clear and literal example of what Stuart Curran very briefly terms her "poems of refusal" in the 1800 *Lyrical Tales.* The poetics of refusal, which Curran also finds in Byron, involve the final, distinguished acts of a speaker or character and, more importantly, moments of refusal are "an assertion of the self when there is nothing left to gain" (32). All that the speaker, and perhaps Robinson herself, has to gain are "Restless Mem'ry" of lost love and "Gallia's hostile shore." That these are uncertain gains is foreshadowed by the repeated details of the unstable, "troubled" ocean and vocabulary like "Varying passions" and "Wav'ring" lover. The quatrains that reclaim –

but do not refute or calm – these changeable details repeat refusal: "*no* servile passions," "*no* joy in wealth," and "*No* stranger's ear shall heed me…*No* eye for me shall weep" (37, 50, 19-20). Particularly in this lyric, Robinson's repeated language of refusal becomes the primary mode for articulating women's wartime experiences. Women's wartime experiences are filled with refusal and absence – loss of friends, family, comfort, home, or battlefield – and their first-hand experiences are typically absent from the strict spheres of literature and politics. As late as 1995 Simon Featherstone's critical reader claims that "there can be no women's war poetry" before women served in the military (95). Thus, Robinson's repeated "no" conveys this absence and at the same time makes space for it on the printed page, where women's repeated 'I saw' or 'I felt,' in relation to wartime context, could risk censure. Indeed, Robinson's poetics of refusal oppose or remove contemporary expectations of the lyric as abstract or filled with expressions of "tear" and "sigh," actions which are rejected by the speaker. Through extended meditations on the churning, liminal sea, full of associations with political conflict, the speaker comes to claim a defiant position of opposition for herself and her text. This structure supports Baker's claim that "the law of the sea [became] the basis for a new respect for individual rights" in the Romantic period, rights women must try to articulate despite displacement (Baker 11). Ultimately, the speaker declares she "stoops *not* to complain" of personal and political change, or at least she will not complain after this lyrical expression of self that wavers between articulating emotion and affirming defiance.

Wandering Figures

Robinson further dramatizes absences experienced by women during social and political upheaval by repeatedly troping wanderers and exiles. Above I have connected the speaker's "Varying passions" to the changing sea in the opening quatrains of "Stanzas" (6). When the speaker's varying heart is, within three lines, changed to the physical "I wander," Robinson gives body to the displaced woman with "nothing left to lose" (9). "I wander" is an active declaration, finally rising to the surface of the lyric after the first two stanzas of "foamy" seas and "bosom beating" (3, 5). At the same time, the act of wandering – reiterated as "I go" and later "my mournful exile" – conveys women's displacement during periods of conflict. To bridge this tension, "Far I go" or "Far across" launch a handful of quatrains (9, 17, 18, 33). The repeated structure of I + verb, as in "I wander" and "I go," briefly locate physical activity in the woman speaker rather than the Channel's "Bounding billow" and "breezes waft," which the poem begins and ends with. Robinson's speaker claims the act of wandering and moving as her own, a choice coupled with that of refusing outward sentimentality. She refuses to "sigh" and will shed "Not one tear," but does travel and write. Although the speaker's heart is initially "Varying" while wandering from shore to shore, Robinson turns the inward into the outward – a key revision of the Romantic lyric – by asserting and repeating "I wander." This formal continuity mirrors the repeated assertion that "Not one sigh shall tell my story"; the outside will not betray internal feelings, unlike battlefield ballads. Both "I wander" and "no" or "not" provide options for women when responding to social or political displacement.

Felicia Hemans's speaker in "The Cliffs of Dover" similarly aligns herself with wandering figures, though trapped in the liminal Channel, because she struggles to respond with conventional celebration to England's political prowess. Though the speaker "greets" her "land of home" as she travels across the Channel, Hemans implies she remains below and apart from it, perhaps suggesting her lesser status as a wanderer (5, 8). The cliffs, emblematic of all of England in this text, are "like a fortress proud, / Above the surge and spray" (3-4). Briefly alluding to Dover's martial position, Hemans patriotically suggests that the country is above or has withstood war's "surge and spray." However, the speaker is soon unable to continue this praise as she is located below the cliffs, contemplating hidden lessons in "the billow's foam" (6). Unlike Robinson's "Stanzas," water in Hemans's text is quite destructive, colored with "blood" which forces the speaker to consider other avenues of response to "home" (29). Instead of praising England, the speaker looks back across the Channel and can only then use first-person expressions: "I have left sunny skies behind" (9). The speaker finds comfort and the use of "I" when recalling the bright, calm realms of Greece, Spain, and Rome. Though she concludes the reverie with "Yet again / I bless thee, land of home!" Hemans has already established her speaker as apart from England (20). Further, in her memories of "sunny skies" the first-person speaker identifies with "The pilgrim's voice [that] soothed me" (15-16). It is a foreign pilgrim, an emblem of religious wandering, that the speaker expresses an affinity for rather than the "land of home." The speaker replaces England's political prowess with figures of mobility, particularly a pilgrim who has unquestioned spiritual and physical freedom despite standing apart from society, as reflected in Byron's

repeated rendering of Harold as a pilgrim in the closing canto (4.1567, 1668). Hemans then suggests the female speaker's fear of confronting or admitting estrangement from the military "fortress" of England. The introduction of the pilgrim, along with the speaker's first-person flashback, create a distinct middle in the text; here the scene is inviting and descriptive with "music in the Southern wind, / And sunshine on the vines" (11-12). These three quatrains, from a total of twelve, create a subtle contrast with the "billow's foam," "fortress," and "blood" of England that the speaker cannot or will not fully embrace.

Hemans's speaker hints at dissenting opinions and national insecurities by relying on liminal settings and voices in a seemingly patriotic lyric. When returning to view England, the only "voices [that] meet me," and thus establish a connection with the speaker, are those of "the dead, the noble band" (23-25). The woman's return is met by the English dead, by disembodied "voices" from the past that play in the "breeze" (25). In her examination of Smith's editions of *Elegiac Sonnets,* Singer finds that phantoms and wanderers represent a poem's materiality, particularly a poem's ability to move and shift into multiple forms, like Hemans's mixture of national song and personal critique (187). Though many occasional lyrics made clearer allusions to English victories – such as contrasting Wellington with Napoleon – Hemans does not mention any famous names or events, simply the power of "guard" and "fortress."[77] Moreover, "The Cliffs of Dover" was first published in 1817, when Sargant was writing her *Sonnets and Other Poems* and when habeas corpus was suspended, despite the end of the continental wars, due to fears of domestic revolt. Hemans violently condemns "The sever'd land of home!" and further

represents the status of women and reformers with repeated dead voices and foreign pilgrims that guide the speaker to a location apart from the center of imperial power (8). Because the speaker is apart from England and can only take refuge in memories of wandering, Hemans ends by asserting hope in the face of a changing political field: "Oh, be it still a joy, a pride, / To live and die for thee!" (31-32). However, the hope of continued, "still" honor is tinged with uncertainty as the exemplum of dying for England are the phantoms whose "blood hath mingled with the tide" that is repeatedly "foamy" and a "surge" (29, 4) The speaker's difficulty in celebrating the "pride" of England stems from her knowledge of "the dead" and their voices, the import of which is left out of the text. The tension is established, then, between national celebration and liminal voices that dissent against political ambition or protest wartime death. The speaker showcases the difficulty of celebrating England at the hour of transition, between Europe and Dover, between Napoleonic Wars and domestic strife.[78] Therefore, Hemans foregrounds liminal and distant places alongside wandering figures and voices.

Hemans, Robinson, and Sargant's use of wandering language and their difficulty sticking with lyric conventions point readers toward the lack of viable choice women had during war and when individually engaging with it on the page. Robinson's speaker refuses to indulge in emotional effusion while Hemans's fails at national celebration, revisions of meditative and occasional lyrics respectively. Challenging these practices, prioritized by many first-person lyrics, suggests the need to revise the lyric genre when the speaking feminine "I" engages in wartime choices and effects. Genre shifting by women can be dangerous, as Marlon B. Ross argues, despite the fact that "the

conventionality of the form may tie [the female dissenter] more closely to the status quo political structure from which the form gains its meaning and authority, the fact that she has no formal authority within that structure may help to unbalance the form's links to established power" (92-93). As the established lyric slipped away from established power thanks to unauthorized women war correspondents, poets like Hemans, Robinson, and Sargant had room to revise the sources from which their female speakers gain power.[79] Instead of conventional themes of celebration or feminine softness conveyed through address, personifications, and effusive meditations on a single thought, female speakers build a new bridge to wartime experience on the page with liminal settings and wandering speakers. The page then fuses wandering or liminal figures with political and generic possibilities.

After rejecting the conventional, feminine themes of the lyric genre like "Not one tear," Robinson's speaker in "Stanzas. Written between Dover and Calais" is repeatedly yoked to restless, undefined wandering:

> Let the bosom, prone to ranging,
> Still, by ranging, seek a cure:
> Mine disdains the thought of changing,
> Proudly destined to endure! (29-32).

This stanza is filled with various verbs and punctuation that at once mobilize and "Still" speaker and readers, conveying newfound placelessness in genre and in society. "[R]anging" is repeated and further defined by "changing," which conveys the profound effects of such aimless movement. Moreover, "ranging" was a complex and broad term in

the Romantic period, encompassing everything from wandering on sea or land to changing one's affections. To range was also used to describe firing weapons, creating alliances, or glancing over something. In her repetition of the term, Robinson hints at the multitude of meanings, ultimately connecting the speaker's ranging "bosom" to war, travel, and inconstancy. By repeating terms of movement, Robinson reinforces the transitional state of the speaker, she is ranging and changing as the ocean is around her. However, the speaker again engages, rather paradoxically, in a refusal to 'range,' even as her language compounds her transitional state and setting. Robinson explains that the "cure" for "ranging" is "ranging," a wandering activity the speaker has already pointedly chosen for herself with the earlier "I wander." Similarly, wandering, by walking in particular, is a cure for and a re-creation of vagrancy in Langan's analysis of Wordsworth's *The Excursion*. Yet Robinson's lines contrast a general "the bosom" with the personal "Mine," which refuses "the thought of changing." The speaker desires to be constant, to retain the love she has lost and that has caused her to physically wander. Robinson thus locates the act or realization of refusal (to outwardly complain, to change affections) in aimless movement. The return to first-person in the latter half of the quatrain removes "the thought of changing" from the definitions of "ranging," which clarifies Robinson's interest in wandering, even warlike movement as the primary province for women speakers. Regardless, refusal to give in to conventional effusion or to change has caused the repeated verbs and the speaker to take actions like "wander" and "go."

Robinson's word choice near the end of "Stanzas" positions her female speaker as permanently outside conventional modes of expression but reiterates movement as a means to be seen and heard. She soon calls herself an "exile," a key word for women war poets contending with their exclusion from political debates and activity. However, Robinson's is an active exile because the speaker asserts "my mournful exile show[s]" or reflects something about those "foes" at home and abroad (44, 9). Specifically, the declaration of "my…exile" quickly follows an allusion to war, the "age of worldly woe" (42). To convey the potential of women's war lyrics, Robinson creates a speaking female exile during war who can reflect, "show," something about the "age." Her exile shows how "ungrateful" her lover was for the work she offered during this wartime period, which included "bid those sorrows fly," remaining steadfast during "storms of fortune," and even the act of writing a "song" (36). As in Sargant's sonnet, the woman speaker is overlooked or denied during war, but the exile is connected to active verbs liked "show" and "proved." At the same time, the ability to directly comment on war, subtle in this lyric, is subsumed by the wandering movement created in each stanza. The exiled status, connected to an age of war, represents the exclusion women experience when engaging with the traditionally masculine sphere of politics.

Robinson makes clear, however, that the lyric is a product of the exiled, liminal position inhabited by the female speaker "between Dover and Calais." Not a directly English or French text, the lyric is referenced on the page as an offering for the (masculine) public's eyes. To assert the importance of her product, the speaker revises the ranging, wandering, and stormy language:

Yet ere far from all I treasured,
T*******! Ere I bid aideu,
Ere my days of pain are measur'd,
Take the song that's still thy due! (33-36)

The language of movement is subtler here, repeating the earlier "far" without the active "I go." Even the declarative "Take" is an action relegated to the absent lover. Instead, the speaker plans to say goodbye and to measure her days in poetry, travel, and time. "Ere" is repeated three times in this stanza, a time-marker that aims to slow down, even disrupt, the meter and the surrounding ocean billows. In doing so, Robinson creates another liminal space where one has embarked on a journey but has not gone too far to act or affect others, a poignant argument for women's sociopolitical lyrics. It is in this in-between space that "the song," the text itself, finds shape. Robinson reuses "still" to convey movement as well as the constant gift of the lyric; though fitted to and made in a liminal place the lyric can be taken and used by other readers. The speaker further notes that the song is "thy due," the first clear address to her lover which could only be made after personal engagement with the "still," "roaring," and "far" ocean. As noted above and seen again here, Robinson addresses both the absent lover and the ocean in "Stanzas" in order to convey the scope of the speaker's wandering and to reveal the changing construction of the lyric.

Conflicting Addresses

The speaker's opening address to the ocean in "Stanzas" at once establishes a liminal location and the authenticity of conventional lyric. Many lyrics from the late

eighteenth century are bookended with a staged address to an identified lover, to a state of mind like Melancholy, or to a natural entity, but Robinson wavers between addressing "thy rage" and the speaking "I," which conveys the precariousness of revising generic expectations. While Brewster argues that address or apostrophe "involve an estranging rather than an engaging of familiar voice," the poets surveyed here revise this common practice by layering and shifting addresses in order to reveal and perhaps make familiar the speaking "I's" interior shifts or emotional wandering (Brewster 39). For instance, it is not until Robinson's sixth stanza that direct address returns; thus, readers assume the ocean to still be the recipient. The speaker's declaration of her wandering and abstract descriptions of her "Love and Hope are vanish'd" funnel into an exclamation that "Proves that heart was form'd for *thee*!" (15, 24). It will still be three more stanzas until the speaker explicitly addresses her "ungrateful rover" with "thy due," so the second instance of address causes pause in readers. The speaker is "form'd for thee" – at once the ocean, the brief abstractions of "Love and Hope," and the beloved. The layered, changing address mimics the speaker's physical wandering, another uneasy attempt to unite lyric conventions with liminal speakers. Robinson's text harnesses the conventional form and authority of the lyric through direct address, though its recipients are shifted in order to broaden the impact of the speaker's liminal "song."

Address later becomes a foil to the speaker in Robinson's wandering lyrics like "On Leaving the Country for the Winter Season, 1799." Each of the first three stanzas repeat a variation of the same refrain: "Ye leafless woods, ye hedge-rows bare, / Farewel! awhile farewell!" (1-2). Though this countryside is repeatedly "bare" and "bleak," the

speaker uses it to contrast the more miserable "busy scenes" she will encounter as she travels, presumably, to the city (7). Initially these contrasts, which imply travel, are made through the lyric's "obliged" address – in Brewster's term – and abstractions like "ye mountains" and "Hypocrisy shall smile," but repeated address gives way to a firm, active "I." (5, 7). In place of the address and abstract figures, the first-person speaker slowly appears, thus embodying generic shifts in women's lyric. Again, the conventional, repeated structure of address does not hold up when the female speaker subtly comments on sociopolitical tension rooted in the city scenes she approaches. In fact, the final two stanzas do away with address altogether, giving readers space to instead hear the speaker's feelings directly and thus avoid Brewster's notion of "estranging." Now "The troublous scene returns *to me* / who sick'ning sigh" and "*I hear* the deaf'ning noise" (21-24, emphasis added). Though the speaker asserts "mingling tones I seek," these differing, debating voices soon present "dark and dreary hours I see," which suggests the detrimental effects of the crowd, a topic Hemans also presents in her lyric contemplations of England (9, 19). The speaker begins wandering through the "troublous" city, telling how it affects her: "The midnight gloom / I change, for the light taper'd room" (10-11). The speaking "I" comes to enact the movement that the opening stanzas reveal by addressing contrasting natural scenes.

Despite Robinson's departure from direct address in her 1790's lyrics, Hemans relies on repeated direct address over a decade later in "The Cliffs of Dover" for two main reasons: to create a familiar form that potentially hides her critique and to forge a conventional relationship with and celebration of England that, as noted above, fails.

Hemans clearly yokes the speaker's presence to the cliffs when asserting "I bless thee" at the end of a quatrain (20). Rather than solely addressing "thee" or "ye cliffs," Hemans employs the "I" to repeat the address. Importantly, this union is made after the speaker's digression into memories of wandering among pilgrims in sunny southern Europe. Once this digression has drawn out the use of "I," the speaker corrects herself. She continues with the address to England and returns to her opening language of conflict: "For thine the Sabbath peace, my land!" (21). Here again "thine" and "my" share the line, which unites subject and speaker, nation and individual, through the familiar mode of address (3). But direct address and "peace" are soon undermined with ominous "voices" of "the dead" that visit the speaker (23-24). Hemans attempts to soothe the tension between "peace" and "dead" with a common address to England's martial and natural glory, such as "die for thee" and "thy breezes." However, the speaker no longer unites "I" with "thee" because of her dissatisfaction with England's martial history that overlooks "the dead" and those in a liminal position like the speaker. To that end, the final lines return to address England, but Hemans removes the first-person pronoun from the structure as seen in the above exclamation of "I bless thee," perhaps to mask disappointment. Instead, "Oh, be it still a joy, a pride, / To live and die for thee!" leaves out the subject who may perhaps find "joy" in death, which not only suggests that this "joy" is at risk of changing, but also separates "I" from England, letting "thee" stand alone (31-32).

Conflicting Sounds

Hemans's war lyrics, scarce in her oeuvre, continue to rely on a sidelined speaker from whose liminal position poignant contrasts can be made that critique political ambition. "The Illuminated City" was first published in 1826 but is set in London in 1814 when new gas lights were installed to celebrate Napoleon's defeat and exile to Elba (Wolfson 419). Initially highly descriptive and typical of the historical narratives found elsewhere in Hemans's *Records of Woman* (1828), where this poem was reprinted, the second stanza suddenly introduces a speaking "I" unattached to any national figure or event. Like Robinson's choice to secure and then blast readers' expectations of a single, identifiable addressee, Hemans introduces the speaking "I" who derails the event when readers expect a narrative. Though the speaker describes "I pass'd thro' the streets; there were throngs on throngs–" she seems apart from them as embodied by the long dash and the caesura that separates "I" from "throngs" (9). Moreover, the speaker's view of the celebration grows increasingly critical, almost hostile, as she contrasts "the joyous crowd" alongside "a wail" that only she seems privy to (27). The speaker then uses contrasting sounds to straddle both the nighttime parade and the absent or hidden "mourner[s]" that make up a more complete picture of the newly-ended war. From the speaker's sidelined vantage point, readers are offered both "a weeper there" and "the bright lamp's glare!" much like the costly "peace" that masks "the dead" and "blood" in "The Cliffs of Dover" (17, 25). The contrasts made in Hemans's word choice and clashing sounds deepen her critique of "life's pageants" that aim to entirely cover the means of success (33).

Because most of the contrasts the speaker creates in "The Illuminated City" are those of sound, like "song" and "moan" or "music of victory" and "sigh," readers are reintroduced to wartime scenes with a less-used sense that, in the setting of this poem, is not overtaken by the glaring gas lamps that spell victory. Not only does Hemans set the initial crowd scene with layers of sound imagery, like "mingled songs" and "A peal of the cymbal, the harp, and horn," but the subsequent use of "wail" on the same line as "the joyous crowd" moves readers back and forth between sorrow and celebration to mimic the speaker's wandering in the absence of "plodding" blank verse (10, 12, 27).[80] The places of sorrow the lyric projects for us include "homes" and "battle-plain" and even "the beauty of woman's head," all of which leap into the speaker's mind upon hearing "mingled songs" (18-22). Sound initiates these new physical scenes, distinct from the parade, where the speaker creates continuity between home, war, and women. Women are explicitly connected to the realm of war in this lyric thanks to the contrasting sounds. Hemans rhymes those who "fell" on the battlefield with "dwell," the latter encompassing "homes," "childhood," and "woman's head" that conclude the stanza to further dramatize this continuity (19-22).

Within individual lines, poignant rhymes and repeated sounds slow the pace of the illuminated parade that passes quickly by reminders of destroyed homes and battlefields. As Hemans almost certainly knew, Helen Maria Williams remarked on the spectacle of "innumerable lamps" and "the sound of rejoicing" at the former site of the Bastille in 1791 (Letter 3, p. 72).[81] But this enlightened scene is later undermined by Williams's visceral reaction to Paris's "dark streets" and particularly a lamp where "the

first victims of popular fury were sacrificed" (Letter 10, p. 94, 98). Working with such undertones of lights and lampposts, Hemans prioritizes sound instead. Similarly, Robinson's "On Leaving the Country" uses sound imagery like "din of mingling tones" and "sounds unmeaning swell" for the new city scene she enters (9-12). It is these sounds that the speaking "I" directly critiques and contrasts with "the silent dell" in the country (18). Therefore, sound signals detrimental changes in both women's war lyrics. After Hemans's hidden scenes of "Grief," a forceful anaphora, the speaker asserts "I saw not" and "I heard not" from these dead or bereaved subjects while at the parade (20-21). The first-person frames and guides readers in and out of these scenes, much like the periodical poems that tried to personally validate wartime experience quoted at the outset of this chapter. Yet the insertion of "weeper" and "wail" places these sounds and the people they represent on the page and in readers' minds alongside the loud and bright parade. Hemans continuously places "songs" and "moan" and the like on the same line in order to balance grief and celebration, which are often separated in war lyrics and which Williams briefly balances in her account of the lamp-guillotine (23). The speaker thus retrains readers' ears from "the music of victory…all too loud!" to "listen for moan or sigh" (28-32). Coupled with the contrasting sounds, the speaker directly asks readers to listen and learn: "Didst thou hear, midst the songs, not one tender moan?" (23)

Reminiscent of Amelia Opie's 1802 "Lines Written at Norwich on the First News of Peace," Hemans's poem too poses questions to a boisterous crowd and fills her lyric with "sound" and "sight" (13). However, Opie introduces a speaking character, a bereaved mother, to articulate the cost of peace that the "wild and joyful cry" of the

"crowds" overlooks (1-2). The mother's speech draws a last address from the speaker about the power of "thy tale of grief" (41); but as the celebration resumes the speaking "I" that had "now survey[ed]" and addressed "you fond parents, faithful wives," changes her immediate point of view for a broad hope that "hostile bands on War's red plain…have not vainly burned" (22, 29, 57-58).Opie's perspective travels, replacing female characters and the speaking "I" with a more universal, and abstract, request for war's permanent end. Hemans, at the end of another war, does not lose sight of the immediate parade and places sociopolitical critique in the mouth of a speaking "I" who is strikingly aligned with women, children, and the silenced dead. Hemans, in a rare shift from her narrative poems, relies on "I" in "The Illuminated City" to trace wartime scenes that oppose the happy "songs" and "bright lamps' glare" (23, 26). Hemans's lyric speaker strikes a balance between pouring out "Grief" for forgotten war-torn figures and repeatedly asking readers directly "Didst thou hear" what "I heard" (20, 17, 27).

Hemans thus links the collective address "thou" to the scene of "Grief," using the page to show the empty homes and wailing hearts that the present pageant denies. Because of this task, the speaking "I" has less room to comment directly on her feelings of celebration or heartbreak or disgust, as Robinson's wartime lyrics leave room for after sustained address or description. Instead the speaker is made into a guide or teacher in the second half of the lyric, supplementing the "saw not" and "heard not" with varied scenes of loss that check the addressees' celebration. In the final directive, Hemans writes "But lift the proud mantle which hides from thy view / The things thou shouldst gaze on, the sad and true" (37-38). Though "The Illuminated City" ends with a lecture to the crowd,

Hemans ensures that the address is specific to the "proud" views she aims to critique. Alternating between first-hand descriptions and various addresses dominates the structure of many war lyrics surveyed here, which perhaps conveys the fluctuating conception of the genre and the difficult balance between convention and critique women struck within it. Indeed, both Hemans and Robinson employ this shifting, even as it sidelines their speakers, creating new spaces that represent the status of women during war.

Meter and Mind

Robinson's unstable shifts between 'you' and 'I' – often letting go of 'you' altogether – do provide more space for the lyric speaker's identity to form, which Baker links to maritime imagery, but these shifts also embody the perpetual wandering forced on women during sociopolitical upheaval. The addressee(s) in "Lines to Him Who Will Understand Them" is purposefully clouded for readers, which helps obscure political critique and instead focuses readers on the speaker's personal, unstable emotions. The title and the first line establish an address – "Thou art no more" – which seems to apply to the "O Friendship!" a few lines later (1, 5). Friendship, or a male friend of the speaker's, is "no more" and now only "a phantom of the mind" (1, 6). Meditating on the loss of personified Friendship fills the first long couplet stanza of "Lines to Him." Yet when Robinson begins the second stanza, both speaker and addressee have shifted. It begins abruptly, "Britain, Farewell! I quit thy shore" and conflates Britain with the opening "Thou art no more" a friend (19). Further, the second stanza shifts to regular iambic feet after a primarily trochaic first stanza to Friendship. Robinson's metrical shifts

suggest a contrast between "Friendship" and "Britain" as if the two are mutually exclusive, which supports the subtle critique of Britain's changing, warlike position in the late eighteenth century.

The uneasy shifts between speaker, Britain, and Friendship quietly suggest the fraught position of England, at war within and abroad, that Robinson uses to frame many of her 1790's lyrics. Like Hemans over a decade later, Robinson creates such tension through a revised address to empire from a speaking woman. Indeed, the address to Britain launches the speaker's aimless movement; she has "no fix'd abode" and instead "trace[s]" a wide array of scenes (22, 23). Though the speaker has "quit" (19) Britain, the stanza that addresses "My native country" (20) sees "Thy image" (42) in every new "tempest," "plain," or "snow" (40, 38). Tempests in Helen Maria Williams's similar poem, "A Farewell to England for Two Years" (1791), are connected to French Revolutionary battles for liberty. In Robinson's long couplet stanza, readers question if the speaker references Britain, Friendship, or someone else. In a picture, made structurally, of the turbulent mind, the recipient of the lyric shifts simultaneously as the speaker wanders "Driven by fate" and "O'er the white wave's tempestuous space." As the body involuntarily travels, so does the mind – the "wand'ring Fancy" – travel, but a bit more willingly than the body.[82] In the mind's wandering, "each Flow'r" and "wind" represents "Thy wild impetuous passions" (45, 48, 49), which again alludes to Britain's unstable politics and "tempests" that may have caused "my lonely course" (41). The shifting address is eventually clarified in the final stanza which begins "Torn from my country, friends, and you" (53). Here Robinson separates "Britain" from "O Friendship"

from a lover who seemed hidden in opening lines. Still, as the lyric draws to a close, additional choppy addresses are made to the Muse and to Italy. Robinson's shifting addresses make a bit more sense as the speaker admits her constant physical and mental movement, stemming from sociopolitical tension, which becomes the sole means and topic of her lyric expression.

As the speaker shifts in and out of various addresses, stanza lengths, and effusions of "my pain" or "I'll weep," Robinson pairs each turn with ponderous punctuation or metrical variations that suggest a correlation between wandering physically and mentally. Mental freedom, at times depicted as the only avenue for liberty, was popular in war literature of the period as noted in the first two chapters. Robinson initiates the inward turn after the final address to "Italia's gales" by slowing down the beginning of the subsequent lines. Instead of describing the benefit "thy myrtle groves" will have on the speaker as she passes through Italy, the lyric turns entirely inward: "I feel, I feel" (75). Not only is this one of the few instances of repetition in "Lines to Him Who Will Understand Them," but it is the third and final line that begins with "I." Its repetition at the beginning of the line suggests that unmediated emotions will finally conclude the lyric. Moreover, the pause created by the comma between the two "I feel" statements elongates the shift from the outward address to Italy toward inner emotions, in other words from physical to mental wandering. The subsequent lines imply the speaker is succumbing to death after a "poison'd dart" has "mingled with the vital heat, / That bids my throbbing pulses beat; / Soon shall that vital heat be *o'er*!" (75-76, emphasis added). Used throughout "Lines," "o'er" signals emotional ends and physical means. Both Byron

and Wordsworth repeat “o’er” and “through” as Childe Harold and *The Prelude’s* speaker respectively “wander” (4.1552 and VI.239-242); so too do Robinson’s lines “o’er the white wave” and “o’er craggy rocks” repeatedly convey the speaker’s variegated physical traveling. Thus, as the speaker feels her inner “heat” and “pulses” slow, the return to “o’er” and its complex status as preposition and adverb signals continued movement instead of an end or stop. The speaker’s intimate despair is also redirected by another pair of conspicuous punctuation and metrical variation. Suddenly the speaker awakes to her new Italian surroundings and links them to her inner desire for activity by asserting “No – I will breathe the spicy gale; / Plunge the clear stream, new health exhale” (81-82). The long dash pauses readers, like the earlier commas, and signals a shift toward movement again. The speaker uses the break to prepare for unmediated self-assertion in “I will.” Thus, the poem shifts a final time, from despair to activity. The activity, aligned with the speaker’s traveling, includes “Plunge” and inhale and exhale. Robinson’s selection of present tense verbs creates immediacy and ownership over this new place after the speaker’s estrangement from Britain.

Liminal Dramas

So far, this chapter has viewed two of W.R. Johnson’s three types of lyric address, and even revealed hybrid forms: 1) I-You and 2) personal meditations in seclusion. Finally, I turn to the last type, 3) dramatic monologues or dialogues, which bridges the expectations of lyric as a controlled performance of self as well as an expression of “heighted emotion and authentic sentiment” given in solitude (Brewster 1-2). Women’s

authenticating wartime sentiment – that use of "I" – demands some support from conventional forms and tropes, but also removes the form to liminal spaces and subjects. Even when a lyric expression is most clearly a performed persona, as in a play, placing wartime sentiment in women's mouths often creates liminal spaces and exiled figures, which, if viewed as new tropes for war lyrics, may be a means of conveying the "authenticity" of women's individual wartime experiences. Because the lyric is also a classical component of tragedy, enhancing the theoretical tension between personal and public expression, a glance at Romantic women's plays supports the persistence of liminal settings and wandering figures to view women during war. Though *Joan of Arc, a Play in Five Acts* was not published until 1840, Sargant notes in the preface that her play was actually written much earlier, even before the vogue for Joan.[83] The play purports to reveal the titular hero's interior life during war, including romantic and martial desire, but repeats language of liminality and exile seen a half-century before in Robinson's and Hemans's lyrics.

Sargant uses liminal terms and settings to establish Joan's position on physical and emotional edges in the fourth scene of Act One, the first dramatic monologue that recounts her history. Joan's admission of being constantly in a trancelike state – "I…sank into a trace, as since I find" – displaces her motives for going to battle and masks her performances in court, battlefield, or church as a vision or sleep. The tension between her inner inspiration and outer activity is repeated; in the chapel after the Siege of Orléans Joan asserts "I shun each eye, / Yet fly from solitude to fly from self" (II.IV). This construction links self with solitude on the same line, which is common to many lyrics

and reflects the growing expectation of authenticity in the genre. But Joan's union of self and solitude is broken at this juncture in the play. Though her opening monologue revealed that, previously, "To be alone / My Joy," after the Siege she refuses solitude and the company of others' "eye[s]." The interference of battle and romance with warrior Du Nois have denied Joan the rest of solitude, which sends her "fly[ing]." The repetition of "fly" conveys perpetual movement, rather than inspiration or effortlessness, which becomes synonymous with women's status during war. Although Joan has engaged in both public and private spheres, Sargant establishes no unity between them and instead keeps Joan in a liminal state, shifting in and out of physical and emotional locations.

Like Robinson's lyric speakers, Joan uses private moments to articulate the physical and emotional movement that attends women who engage with war. Though Joan experiences several battles, romantic interests, and even prison, she repeats "my desire may find no place / On earth to rest" (II.IV). Consolations of heaven, interestingly, are less prominent in the other war lyrics surveyed here, like the elegies in the previous chapter, but Sargant's heavenly support for women's wartime activity in fact further solidifies Joan's liminal position. There is "no place," alone or amongst society, for Joan's blend of martial and romantic "desire." While Robinson's repeated "no" in poems of refusal use absence or opposition to assert the woman speaker's unconventional expression of self, Sargant's repeated sense of absence in "no place" suggests two unbalanced selves in Joan: 1) personal or conventional womanhood, including religious and national devotion and 2) unconventional, even masculine, expertise in battle and political debate. Sargant also includes the word "void" in Joan's first lyrical expression to

signal the emptiness and placelessness that constantly surround women with martial, instead of marital or heavenly, ambition. Her placelessness is also linked to wandering, "rest" being only hoped for in the final act. Indeed, Hemans's 1828 "Joan of Arc, In Rheims" dramatizes different spaces, public and private, that women who engage with war must navigate. But, outlined in the first chapter, Joan can never fully belong to either place – church or crowd or home – for very long. Even the heaven-sent ambition causes Sargant's Joan to admit "I seem'd…cast from some other sphere," just as she appeared to others when leading troops to battle. Termed "other" and "void" in her own voice, Sargant's hero inhabits a liminal position despite the work of the play to locate Joan in battlefields and in romantic situations.

Though Joan inhabits several central places like battlefield, court, church, and prison, she finds, like Robinson's lyric speakers, the ocean more apt to convey her emotional exhaustion. Her conflicting love for her country and for warrior Du Nois is a "gushing tide of fond affection," but she laments that "no returning stream the waste supplies, / To make me richer for the theft from self" (II.IV). Her resources are separate and diminishing. With the addition of "no" and "theft," Joan clarifies that the ocean represents a loss or absences within the self. Earlier, in Act One, Joan also compares her heart to "the swelled ocean [that] must exceed its bounds / And find departed calm best in exhaustion [before] I can smile again" (I.IV). Like the tide, Joan's emotions are extreme in breaking their appropriate boundaries and in the "exhaustion" they leave behind. Breaking "bounds" suggests actions or topics that produce liminal, wandering women like Robinson's exiled speakers and the reviewer's depiction of Barbauld. Byron too

describes the "ocean o'er its boundary" and in Wordsworth's *The Prelude* "Bound" implies in turns stasis and movement; thus, Anne Wallace's Romantic walkers are required to "break bounds" in order to "return" to reclaim the notion of aimlessness as a creative act (531). But Joan, breaking wartime boundaries, is unable to return or right her path towards more curative waters as outlined by Langan and Baker. Though central to battle scenes, Joan is repeatedly seen, in lyrical moments of monologue, describing herself as the churning ocean or as some weak bird who "lone I must pursue my path till it be ended." Rather than a bird like Finch's nightingale who directs the wanderer "right," Joan is left alone in the liminal air and water in these comparisons. As Sargant periodically pauses to hear Joan's solitary reflections, her bound-breaking emotions are exacerbated by wartime language that Joan increasingly applies to herself. The ocean-like heart is soon "traitor heart" because it "failed" in remaining solely focused on its heavenly mission to free France.

The liminal state of Joan's inner life is juxtaposed with her public position in France's battle for independence from Britain, a parallel with the passed French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars that Sargant commented on in her 1817 *Sonnets and Other Poems*. *Joan of Arc*, a reminder of sustained war after decades of relative peace, returns to liminal and wandering language to retell war through women's point of view now that, as Sargant's preface mentions, a woman is on the throne. By rewriting liminal themes and tropes into a well-known figure's firsthand speech, women's wartime experience is elevated to that of "socially engaged and productive [art] at a time of imperial expansion" (Brewster 9). To make Joan's private thoughts supportive of such

contemporary events or debates, Sargant fills her "void" and "lone" status with wartime debates and details which, though they break more bounds, cause Joan to actively travel. The intimate "I" is clearly linked to war near the end of Joan's first dramatic monologue: "Now could I feel the smart of England's yoke / And now one burning wish my heart consumed – / To save my country and my prince" (I.IV). Joan's "I" echoes the typically male discussions or tropes of oppression and the ability to "save" the homeland from war, outlined by Ross.[84] Moreover, the union of "I" with wartime action is a personal "wish" from the "heart" which attempts to align wartime action and female emotion. While many lyrics by women may allude to war or personify it as an external force to be lamented or critiqued, Sargant makes war part of women's "consum[ing]" desire.

The contrast between emotional and martial verbs in Joan's speeches at once merge further critique women's sociopolitical exclusion from war. She begins the speech to the troops before the Siege of Orléans by explaining that "I should have shrunk, had I not felt within me / A mighty impulse not to be controlled," which establishes her awareness of women's conventional and unconventional wartime activity while placing power in women's innate desire or "impulse" (11.1). Moreover, the imperative "Let my sex and weakness sleep in my mission" temporarily ungenders Joan and causes the war "mission" to absorb faults or awareness of womanhood. Further, "mission" and "sex" fall on the same line, whereas the subsequent, perhaps safer, evidence that Joan is "the choice of heaven" is separated by a line break and commas. The union of women's "I" with wartime experience continues during and after the Siege of Orléans; Joan clarifies her conscious actions concerning war when she declares "I stand / Prepared to lead to deeds

of ghastly carnage" and later "sword, banner I depose." Whereas Joan initially masks her motives in an involuntary trance, travel and travail on the battlefield embolden her to choose active martial movements: lead, charge, depose. Her military prowess is also reflected in Du Nois. She tells him "We've fought…have bled for her together" and in her final reveries in prison finds solace in the fact that Du Nois will "think of me when I am gone…will see the form of her / Who often shared those triumphs" (II.IV, V.IV). Not only does Sargant link women's speaking "I" with swords and charges, but she also uses it to equate women's wartime activity with men's. Just as many male lyricists "cultivated the province of feeling for the manly action of conquest," Sargant's female speaker cultivated the language of conquest for their private emotions or desires, though to desire war is potentially denied women (Ross 42). To that end, Joan laments that her heavenly yet martial position "make[s] me feel an exile" to suggest a socially required separation from war that she cannot resist.

Joan's fraught relationship with war leads to the marginal location of prison, followed soon by her death which is hastened by Joan's continued union of the speaking "I" with wartime actions and language. In her final dramatic lyric, Joan experiences a reverie of "past glory" as "I hear the tramp of martial feet" (V.III). Playing on metrical and marching feet, the sound initiates her final lyric expression and her complete identification with the masculine realm of war, which is her undoing. She laments her changed position not for her life or other human ties, but for the familiar sensations of battle. From prison she now only "hear[s]" and "gazes" either at "death" or on memories of war; her childhood, ever present in early dramatic monologues and central to

Hemans's Joan, only briefly appears in the final scenes. Instead, the realization that "armour here! – would that – it is my own!" dramatizes in half phrases and repeated punctuation Joan's yearning for the implements and activity of battle. Not only is the tangible armor, placed in her cell, irresistible, but Joan's final act of donning the armor is coupled with the use of first person. The admission and added italics of Joan's statement "it is *my* own," is a too complete unity of women and war that the text – and the governments of France and England – can no longer support.

Joan's final dramatic monologue reenacts the martial activities and duties that precipitated the theoretical ban on women from participating in war. Her wartime duties return in her efforts to restore the armor's "brightness…Let me wipe this rust away," as lyric exclamation shifts into action. Additional battlefield paraphernalia and active verbs fill the remaining monologue:

> In the gleam of the shield and sword,
> I gaze, and the whole field is now before me –
> Proud steeds and gallant forms, war's panoply!
> Oh! Happy hours, when thus I clasped thee on me – (5.3)

With the armor before her, representative of the battlefield, Joan's lyric expression couples joy, like desire, to her wartime participation. She gazes, wipes clean, and clasps in order to reunite with "happy hours" brought about by traditional military trappings and activity. Her mind, previously wandering from childhood to past moments of glory, now surveys the battlefield. The increased use of long dash and exclamation point, often two in the middle of a line, dramatize her handling of the armor and her growing excitement.

Indeed, she repeats "thus" a moment later as she reenacts her military prowess, "Thus rising bade – defiance to the foe!" The long dash stands in for "I," which suggests momentary timidity in placing women's "I" in the role of political aggressor. But Joan has already admitted and reenacted, through "clasped" and "thus," her cross-dressing and martial prowess. It is precisely this cultural overstepping of her "bounds" her jailors want to catch her recommitting.

Conclusion

Brought to a pitch in Sargant's *Joan of Arc*, women's first-hand reflections on war are contentious and perhaps best conveyed by constant liminal movement. Often, oceans, waves, and exiles are chosen as apt representations of women who engage with war and politics. But these waters also serve as an important conduit for women speakers to reclaim, if unable to pause or rescind, their wandering towards war as an active, defiant choice. In wandering, songs are created and various desires merged. At the same time, identifying with wanderers and oceans could offer first-person speakers momentary relief or even coverage from direct criticism of war. The lyric genre was in flux in the Romantic period, increasingly viewed as an authentic personal effusion rather than a staged address or reflection on an occasion. Thus, writers like Mary Robinson, Felicia Hemans, and Jane Alice Sargant – mirrored in their counterparts Wordsworth and Byron – yoked the speaking "I" to travel and to liminal shores to convey a hybrid citizen-self. Moreover, liminal or changeable settings reflected and at times refuted women speakers' exclusion from political and sometimes literary realms, further assisted by twisting

addresses and stanza structures. In a way, in the words of poet Mark Strand, Romantic women's war lyrics "move to keep things whole."

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Sargant's battlefield scenes and speeches in *Joan of Arc* bring our survey of women's war poetry to 1840, twenty-five years after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo. Since the rumblings of revolution in France in the 1780s, we have seen British women merge wartime themes with female figures in multiple genres. Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant spent decades writing battlefield scenes and vocalizing changes on the home front. At the same time, women writers faced an increasingly strict set of expectations from the literary marketplace. It was risky for poets to critique government policy or leaders while domestic scenes and virtue were celebrated. Nonetheless, as I have argued, much Romantic war poetry engaged with the theoretical separation of women from war, as texts filled with speaking or exiled characters and sudden textual disruptions that highlight the female figure's proximity to or direct participation in war. For instance, Hemans's 1826 version of Joan of Arc created tension between Joan's military procession and her rural home through irregular stanzas and indentations. Like Sargant's 1840 Joan, Hemans's text denied any return home after battle. Sargant further dramatized Joan's affinity for war – and the subsequent censure it brought her – by building images of rough oceans into Joan's lengthy monologues. Other female figures like Robinson's widow in the rural cottage and Hemans's woman warrior are described with militarized

language or battlefield instruments that connect these discrete figures to war and subtly critique their silence. Robinson's speaking characters like Ella and Llwhen, on the other hand, create metrical variations and engage in political debate, both of which are later paralleled by Hemans's Switzer's wife. These related characters and speakers grew out of the long Romantic war years and exist in texts that defy or complicate generic expectations.

I returned to Romantic periodicals, first-edition collections, and some manuscripts in order to view these female figures and their texts in the contexts in which their first readers would have seen them. Copious amounts of quotation marks, italics, shifting stanzaic structures, and juxtapositions jump out from these pages and advance my argument that such textual tactics draw readers' attention to obstacles or strategies women encountered when engaging with war. My attention to textual materialism enriches previous scholarly discussions of women's perspectives on war and their publishing habits by considering writing processes during and in the aftermath of war as well as considering Romantic reading habits to which poets might be responding. For instance, the ballad revival and the development of silent reading frame the approaches to war poetry examined in my first and third chapters, respectively. Battlefield ballads by women imitate the antiquarian passion for collecting and collating old ballads but reclaim the antiquarian practice of reducing oral informants and ballad variants. Layers of speech, direct address, and mnemonic parallelism unite the printed ballad with orality. Speeches from women in these ballads – who are often watching battles unfold – further establish

women's role during war as a vocal one, shedding light on women's contributions to oral balladry and to wartime events that the revival tended to overlook.

Much like the speeches from Llwhen and Anna that preserve wartime accounts, the elegies discussed in the third chapter model other strategies for remembering the wartime dead. Words like "reader," "roll," and "recording" suggest the cultural impact of silent reading, which women poets appropriated in order to redirect home-front readers' mourning practices from lament and consolation to reading and writing. Locative words and layers of address further fuse the grave of a soldier with the page being read. Moreover, women's "wartime elegies" fill with figures of readers and writers – instead of expected personifications – that model how to record and remember the dead while sharing their lessons with the living. Sargant's elegies suggest that soldiers' graves can only be found through reading the elegiac page whereas Hemans a few years later places the elegiac record in the mind and memory of a mother, one of many figures disenfranchised by war that materialize in women's elegies.

The mothers, wives, and children left at home during war are also the focus of the domestic narratives in chapter two. I term these domestic poems "home-front poems" because they inextricably link English homes and the rural countryside to battlefields and death. Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant's texts use military language to describe rural scenes of fields, streams, and trees. The effects of this militarized nature on poetic characters vary throughout the Romantic period. On the one hand, because it no longer provides refuge or support, nature succumbs to war's destruction, disappearing from sight like the soldiers and families in these revised domestic scenes. On the other, nature

inspires women like Hemans's Joan and the visitor in Robinson's "The Deserted Cottage" to persevere and even participate in war efforts, from the battlefield to the ruined home. More often, rural details, battlefield maneuvers, and shifting stanzaic structures dramatize the closeness between the front lines and the home front, perhaps most clearly seen in the rhyming words and irregular stanzas of Sargant's "The Disbanded Soldier's Lament." The disbanded soldier speaks directly to readers – as their "sighs" coincide with a soldier "already in the skies" – but women poets find the first-person point of view more troublesome when it comes directly from a woman commenting on war. I argue in the fourth chapter that the tension between a woman, like the poet herself, speaking about war in the highly personal lyric genre led to many lyrics being set in liminal settings like the ocean or seashore. Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant repeat words like "wave" and "exile" to convey the isolation the lyric speaker experiences during war and perhaps in the literary marketplace. The language of "Unnumber'd victims" and "o'erwhelming billows" in one of Sargant's 1817 sonnets reappears in 1840 in Joan's speeches about the ocean bursting its bounds and, like battle, destroying whatever it touches.

The female figures and textual manipulations outlined in each chapter reveal women poet's persistent reexamination of wartime themes and tropes in the Romantic period, which made space for multiple representations of women's roles, from soldier to record-keeper to diplomat. When we look at this body of women's war poetry throughout the Romantic period, the hybrid genres and textual manipulations suggest process and experimentation rather than perspective alone. Textual disruptions such as shifting or

fragmenting meter and rhyme mid-poem, creating layers of intertextuality or speech, and juxtaposing the language and bodies of men and women drew Romantic readers' attention to gendered expectations of war and war writing. Similarly, this corpus traces women's involvement, through the page, in spaces they were theoretically "forbidden" from, including battlefield and political critique, as described by Hemans in the 1808 letter noted in the Introduction. The same subtle manipulations of text and trope appear in poems written both during and after war, that are both anthologized and overlooked today, which affirms the viability of further studies on the process of war writing as well as further studies on works, especially by Sargant, that have had little to no scholarly attention.

Ending this dissertation with Sargant's *Joan of Arc* not only finds a tentative point of closure for Romantic women's war poetry but also proposes a starting place for Victorian and later Modernist war texts. Indeed, this study has established through-lines to later poets like Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Vera Brittain, merging the useful if artificial boundaries of each period. Even Sargant's overlooked literary contributions do not stop at 1840; she continued to publish texts like *The Brothers: A Sea-side Tale* as late as 1852, which suggests the continued fascination with wartime themes and events that contributed in part to the Victorian revival of medieval romances by William Morris and Alfred Tennyson. More striking, perhaps, is that when immediate conflict threatened England's insularity and peace again in 1914 – about one hundred years after Waterloo – women turned again to the front lines and to poetry. Though Siegfried Sassoon condemned women war poets in his 1918 "The Glory of Women" for "worship[ping]

decorations" and believing "That chivalry redeems war's disgrace" (3-4), their page resembles and builds upon the fragmentary stanzas and juxtapositions of Hemans's "Joan of Arc" or Sargant's "The Disbanded Soldier's Lament." For instance, Vera Brittain's poems, like Sargant's, sometimes incorporated asterisks as the speaker is wrenched from her account of past war or past peace. Then, juxtapositions of "gold" and "Shadows" (5, 25) or "noisy" and "none can tell" (6, 29) convey the destruction of war ("May Morning at Oxford," 1916). Much like Sargant's paired rhymes of "sights" and "skies" or Robinson's hostile rural scenes, Brittain's texts dramatize the closeness between home front and battlefield

Countering Sassoon's familiar indictment of women being unfit or unable to write about war, Brittain's speakers also relay knowledge of soldiers' "laboured breath" and "the gleam of knives and bottles" in "The German Ward" of 1917 (6, 11). Still, this poem ends like many Romantic texts surveyed here, with a focus on women's participation and fortitude during war as the "Sister" leading the ward "smile[s]" despite "the tale of three years' warfare on her thin expressive face" (13-15). Brittain's Sister seems evolved from figures like Hemans's Switzer's wife and Robinson's ghostly Bertha, who influence or stand on the battlefield respectively. World War I scholar Margaret Higonnet also responds to Sassoon (and by extension to Romantic reviewers of Barbauld and Hemans) when she states that "Contrary to the widespread assumption that women as non-combatants had nothing to say about war, they were called to do so by female tradition" (125). In addition to the traditions of female oral lamentation and burial or memorial practices Higonnet notes, are writing practices and textual disruptions that occur in

women's poetry over a century earlier. Higonnet goes on to chronicle World War I women's poetry largely through textual techniques, so as we review her analysis of Brittain and others' use of "battering" direct address, questioning, the collective "we," and denials like "No," we can see the influence of Romantic war poetry by women (126-128).

These examples from women poets of World War I suggest a lasting influence traceable, in part, to Robinson, Hemans, and Sargant. I close by proposing that we may detect similar tropes and techniques in texts from contemporary British and American war poets. For instance, Air Force Captain Cheryl Lockhart writes in ballad quatrains that her "mother's conscience" has not "gone astray" when she leaves "for lands so far away" (32, 30). While engaged in battle, the speaker explains her "Duty" as: "I go to hold them as they die / In some deserted place" or that "most of all I go / To bring them back to you" (21-22, 35-36).

In "The Stranger" by Callie Crofts, a high school student wanders by "an unfamiliar place" in her hometown, where she is moved by "a wall of names / Two-hundred and fifty-one" (5, 9-10). On one "engraven" name she lingers to question and to honor the fallen soldier – unknown to her – while "feel[ing]" the carved stone (32).

Lastly, Hannah Carpenter's speaker in "I am with you" comes to terms with a husband who has been deployed. There is quoted, imagined dialogue as well as a juxtaposition between "fields so green" at home and the "desert" at war (7, 8). Though at

home, the speaker describes herself as being in an “empty space” for the duration of the war (15).

The same spaces dealt with in each chapter – battlefield, monument, home, and even a liminal “empty space” – appear in these war poems written in the last two decades in Britain and America. Still, women who engage with war experience obstacles and criticism like that of Sassoon and in the Romantic literary marketplace. One poem by former Marine Lynda K. Dokken bemoans stereotypes of servicewomen as “too stupid / to make it in the real world” or as “flinching and running away” (3-4, 20). More threatening, in the last few years the first two women to become Army Rangers – Captains Kristen Griest and Shaye Haver – received death threats and experienced insubordinate colleagues. These varied examples provide a snapshot of women’s continued navigation of wartime themes and events, often with strategies similar to their Romantic counterparts. Examining women’s war poetry at once helps us develop a detailed catalogue of strategies and tropes for responding to or coping with war in the Romantic literary marketplace and begin to assemble a lineage that includes eighteenth-century elegies on political figures as well as twenty-first century reflections from the front lines. As Captain Griest explains, “everything I do is going to impact women who come after me” (Myers).

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Notes to Chapter I

[1] Printed in Wolfson's anthology, p. 475.

[2] See Chorley's *Memorials* for the recurring phrase "hearth and home" (87) and Frederick Rowton's introduction to Hemans as "feminine" in *The Female Poets of Great Britain* (1848). Furthermore, George Gilliam had earlier called Hemans "by far the most feminine writer of the age" (*Tait's* vol. 14, p. 360). For more on Hemans and domesticity see Julian North's *The Domestication of Genius,* especially pp. 200-215.

[3] Some of Hemans's periodical war poems, such as "The Illuminated City" and "The Cliffs of Dover," have been reprinted in Wolfson's anthology, which is used throughout this dissertation.

[4] See Clive Emsley, Tim Blanning, and Simon Bainbridge's histories.

[5] Daniel Robinson details Robinson's "avatars" as she published poems for the Della Crusca "school." These texts merge with battlefield ballads in her 1791 collection, which has only been selectively reprinted. See Judith Pascoe's *Mary Robinson: Selected Poems* for more well-known and studied poems, often from the Della Cruscan "network."

[6] See Scott Krawczyk and Timothy Ruppert's articles in *The Keats-Shelley Journal* and *Studies in Romanticism,* respectively.

[7] Consider, too, the 1820 review of Hemans's *The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy* and *The Sceptic* that laments the work is "certainly not a female pen" and claims that women and men "must naturally write in different styles."

[8] See Margaret Higonnet's work, including "The Great War and the Female Elegy: Female Lamentation and Silence in Global Contexts."

[9] For theoretical discussions as well as applications of textual materialism in Romantic scholarship, see Kate Singer, Jane Bennett, and Bill Brown.

[10] See Ashley J. Cross's essay "From 'Lyrical Ballads' to 'Lyrical Tales': Mary Robinson's Reputation and the Problem of Literary Debt."

Notes to Chapter II

[11] The milkmaid note appears in Scott's 1802 *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (100). Similarly, in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), Percy claims some of his ballads came "as it was preserved in the memory of a lady that is now dead" (140). Scott elsewhere reveals how he restored a memory 'defect' in a manuscript copy of a recitation (*Minstrelsy* 85).

[12] See also Flemming G. Anderson, "'All there is…As It Is': On the Development of Textual Criticism in Ballad Studies."

[13] Robert Jameison in *Popular Ballads and Songs from Tradition* (1806) criticizes Percy's editorial practices and instead prioritizes variants and oral informants. William Motherwell – *Minstrelsy: Ancient and Modern* (1827) – later retracted his practice of collating different ballads.

[14] McLane also traces the multiple iterations of minstrels – from old women to shepherds to men wandering from court to court – in ballads and metrical romances throughout the nineteenth century.

[15] See Adriana Craciun's attention to "the nineteenth century domestication of essential sexual difference" in her essay "Romantic Poetry, Sexuality, Gender" (159).

[16] Scott began his *Minstrelsy* with "Sir Patrick Spens," which initiated a long series of "historical," martial ballads.

[17] Hester Lynch Piozzi's correspondence from the 1790s follows this trend of ballad imitation, with pointed revisions that showcase modern politics and warfare and typically critique the French. She explains her "parody or imitation – which you will – of good Master Newberry's famous chapter of Kings which was written at first with the laudable intent to teach little babies our own English history; but has lately been set and sung by gentlemen at Catch Clubs, [and] Bow meetings." Instead, Piozzi chronicles the French Revolution repeating "They all lose their heads in their turn." Her other manuscripts revise "A New Loyal Ballad to the Tune of ten times o'day hoop her barrel" and others to Napoleon. Hyde MS 3. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[18] See "A New Song to an Old Tune" (1804), reprinted in Bennett, p. 328, and "A New Song. To the Tune of Hosier's Ghost" (1815), reprinted in Bennett, p. 489.

[19] Simon Bainbridge, in *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, analyzes the popular Field of Battle Poem in which bereaved, wandering, even mad women are "a means of presenting the scene of conflict to the reader," though they are theoretically expected to remain separate from war and political debate (25). See also the women dying on or near the battlefield in Andrew Scott's "The Sailor's Ghost" (1809), reprinted in Bennett pp. 411-413, and "On a Late Noble Action" (1810), reprinted in Bennett pp. 425-426.

[20] See the review of Felicia Hemans's *The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy* in the *British Review* 15 (January 1820), p. 299. The infamous "knitting needles" appear in a review of Anna Barbauld's *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* in the *Quarterly Review* 16 (June 1812), p. 309-310.

[21] Leigh Hunt also tries his hand at the genre in "The Field of Battle" (1801), reprinted in Bennett pp. 260-261.

[22] For the theoretical groundwork of the speech act see Mary Louise Pratt's *Toward a Speech Act Theory* and Vanderveken's collection *Essays in Speech Act Theory.*

[23] In their shorthand transcription, Thelwall's lectures also carry the typographical marks of passionate emphasis, inflection, and gesture.

[24] Consider "A New Song to an Old Tune" (1804), which envisions various commanders-in-chief (such as Pitt and Melville) debating how to defend England from Napoleon's invasion. Reprinted in Bennett, pp. 328-329. Other imagined dialogues include "Nelson and Buonaparte" (1805), reprinted in Bennett p. 352, and "A Consolatory Epigrammatic Dialogue" (1808), reprinted in Bennett, pp. 393-394.

[25] For more on the role of female as well as male bodies in wartime literature, see Mary A. Favret's "Coming Home: The Public Spaces of Romantic War."

[26] See the list of names, occupations, and personifications that help preserve the actions and value of war heroes in John Mayne's "English, Scots, and Irishmen" (1803), Thomas Campell's "Alteration of the Old Balllad, 'Ye Gentlemen of England'" (1801), and Hafiz's (Thomas Campbell) "A New Song, on the Renewed Threat of Invasion. Tune 'All Trades'" (1804).

[27] The possibilities of the unvisited battlefield, as outlined by Rawlinson, contrast the limited "Field of Battle" poems that use women as an extension or representation of war rather than individual actors during war.

[28] McLane also notes that "balladeering could be seen as a particular traffic in women" (63).

[29] See also Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context.*

[30] In her ballads, Sargant works against Wordsworth's notion of "manly and dignified" poetry as found in the "Preface" to *Lyrical Ballads* (1800) and a letter of November 1802.

[31] In Piozzi's correspondence now at Harvard University she quips "We long for lawful bloodshed, war and property tax, a battle in every newspaper… We are now so improved in Philosophy that we do not even lay down our cards at the hanging up of 19 prisoners of war within 300 miles of the capitol – any part of our conversation." Coleridge likewise notes that war is "The best amusement for our morning meal" in "Fears in Solitude."

[22] See "The Ballad of Bosworth Field" – with an extant copy from the mid-seventeenth century – and John Beaumont's "Bosworth-Field: A Poem" (1629).

Notes to Chapter III

[34] The figure of "Britannia," female, often arises from England's shores or fields and marches to her countrymen's aid on foreign battlefields in both prose and poetry. See "The British Medley" in *The Anti-Gallican* (1804) and "An Appeal, addressed to the Public, and dedicated to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on Behalf of the Families and Relatives of the British Prisoners of war on the Continent" in *Universal Magazine* (1811).

[35] Typically, the term "domestic security" is a practical one in Romantic-era texts, such as "by [war] alone can domestic security be obtained," from "History of Europe" in *The Edinburgh Annual Register* (1814). In "National and Parliamentary notices, prospective and retrospective (1810) legislators list "civil liberty and domestic security" as "blessings" the English may count. Lastly, "A Calm Address to the People Called Quakers" (1804) clearly links families and property to the term, urging support for war.

[36]Consider the 1820 review of Hemans's anonymously-published poems that asserts men and women "must naturally write in different styles." *British Review* 15 (1820).

[37] For more on Hemans's navitation of the marketplace, see Paula R. Feldman's "The Poet and the Profits."

[38] See Owen Connelly's *The Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, 1792-1815.* And J.R. Watson's *Romanticism and War: a study of British Romantic Period writers and the Napoleonic Wars.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

[39] Linda Fleming also discusses the home's contrasting influence in private education and in public "demonstration" in "Heart and Home" from *Scottish Women: A Documentary History, 1780-1924,* edited by Ester Breitenbach et al.

[40] The metaphor of the home as a little kingdom was popular and used in a variety of works, as noted by Stephen Behrendt in "'A few harmless Numbers': British women poets and the climate of war, 1793-1815."

[41] See Kate Singer's exploration of a very similar line in Charlotte Smith's sonnets in her essay "Limpid Waves and Good Vibrations: Charlotte Smith's New Materialist Affect."

[42] Reading military accounts and narratives increased in popularity in the early 1790s. Consider texts like *The Secret Memoirs of Robert, Count de Parades, written by himself, on coming out of the Bastille. An Account of his Transactions, as a Spy in England,* excerpts of which ran in multiple newspapers. These years also saw countless articles debating "Real and False Alarms" (1794) along with Coleridge's "Fears in Solitude" (1799). Other familiar headlines included "A short seasonable Hint addressed to the Landholders and Merchants of Great-Britain on the Alarm of a War with Russia" (1797). Also in 1797, *The Analytical Review* printed "A Narrative of the Proceedings of the British Fleet," recounting their skirmishes with the Spanish.

[43] See "Alteration of the Old Ballad" (1801) by Amator Patriae, which asserts that England is proud of and protects "her native oak" during war.

[44] Robinson took up the mistreatment of returning soldiers in her novel *The Natural Daughter,* which included a poem titled "The Old Soldier." Another short story reprinted

in a few newspapers was “The Hospitable Hibernian” (1794) about the class differences between “forsaken” and “showy” soldiers.

[45] In “The Medium of Romantic Poetry,” Langan and McLane interestingly note that the explosion of print in the Romantic period removed the need for memory and at times recitation.

[46] Consider the poem “British Honour” in *The Weekly Entertainer* (1791).

[47] A decisive early battle for Napoleon, Marengo was first announced in England in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* of July 1800 and then in *Walker’s Hibernian Magazine* of August 1800.

[48] Simon Bainbridge observes that women in “Field of Battle” poems are typically left behind to die alone on the battlefield so that readers can understand war through their broken bodies. The latter concept is founded too on Mary Favret’s “Coming Home: The Public Spaces of War.”

[49] Keats uses “still” in a very similar way in “Ode on a Grecian Urn.”

[50] See Hemans’s “The Home of England.”

[51] Despite possible editorial interventions, Langan also argues that indentations and their surrounding white spaces help remove the framework of print, assisting sounds and images in lifting off the page. Moreover, the indentations in Hemans’s text do appear in the first periodical printing of “Joan” in *The New Monthly Magazine,* vol. 17, October 1826, pp. 314-316.

[52] The Venus and Adonis stanza follows the scheme ABABCC and Susan Wolfson observes this scheme in a note to the poem. Mowat and Werstine explain in their

headnote to *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* that this structure "use[s] a remarkable quantity of elaborately patterned language, often achieved through word repetition" (345).

[53] Fire and brightness regularly recur throughout Hemans's poetry, particularly in *Records of Woman.*

Notes to Chapter IV

[54] Matthew Rowlinson, editor of the Broadview edition of Tennyson's *In Memoriam,* claims that the poem "became an unofficial devotional manual for mourners" including Queen Elizabeth (30). Not only does this context further develop the relationship between women and the elegy, but the notion of the elegy as a manual may stem from the Romantic war elegies and reading habits examined here.

[55] C.S. Lewis similarly writes that "in reading great literature I become a thousand men and yet remain myself" (141).

[56] Langan and McLane claim that personifications "abolish our consciousness of the print media" (245). The personifications and other phrases quoted here are taken from periodical poems reprinted in Betty T. Bennett's *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism: 1793-1815.* First is Robert Southey's "The Soldier's Funeral" (1799). As noted by Bennett: "A "Fragment" of this poem without Southey's name appeared in *The Courier,* Apr. 29, 1799. *The Courier* version concludes with "A mere machine," omitting "of murder" and the remainder of the poem" (231). The following quotes are from "The Plains of Vittoria" (1813) and Mathos' "An Elegy on War" (1796), respectively.

[57] In "The Medium of Romantic Poetry," Langan and McLane discuss at once the frequency of titles that include the phrase "Lines written" and the indirect or "etherealized" terms like "above," "near," and "upon" that often accompany those titles or poems. These references draw attention to the paper and page of the book itself, which complicates the "immediate" time and place of the "Lines written" (249-250).

[58] Consider Hemans's manuscripts and commonplace books at Harvard's Houghton Library. The 1823 manuscript of *Siege of Valencia,* for instance, reveals Hemans's frequent underlining, which corresponds to italics in the printed edition.

[59] For more on spots and places in Romantic poetry, see the following studies on Wordsworth's phrase, "spots of time": Jonathan Bishop's "Wordsworth and the 'Spots of Time'"; Alan Richardson's "Wordsworth at the Crossroads: 'Spots of Time' in the 'Two-Part Prelude'"'; and Paul Magnuson's *Coleridge and Wordsworth: A Lyrical Dialogue.*

[60] See R.C.'s "To the Memory of Sir Ralph Abercrombie" (1804) which crowns the dead soldier with "never ending fame" and a "deathless name" (2, 4) or Hafiz's "The Triple Loss" (1806) that lists Nelson, Cornwallis, and Pitt as "noble souls [who] have sought the skies" and yet still can sooth [Britain's] woe" (14, 16).

[61] Periodical war poems sometimes conclude with a quoted speaker as well. See Crito's "Ode to Peace" (1797), Joseph Fawcett's "War Elegy" (1801), and Edmund Swift's "The Orphan Sailor-Boy" (1803).

[62] Adriana Craciun, echoing Stephen Behrendt and Susan Wolfson, describes the post-war years as experiencing "widespread demands for greater social and gender mobility and a reactionary backlash that sought to reinforce hierarchies" (155).

[63] Consider the debate in Romantic scholarship about poets, particularly Wordsworth, displacing politics from Marjorie Levinson and Jerome McGann, countered by Kenneth R. Johnston. As a middle ground between these arguments, absence may suggest what issues and topics turn to instead of politics, rather than sheer displacement of politics.

Notes to Chapter V

[64] Stuart Curran in "The I Altered" argues that marginal figures like the emigrants or other exiles "are the legitimate offspring of this first generation of self-reflecting women poets" (202).

[65] See W.B., *Review of New Publications*, August, 1817, p. 152. "She is less poetical, but more natural" than Charlotte Smith. Sargant describes her 1817 collection as inspired by both "sorrow" and "her favourite authors," but never intended for public view ("Preface" ix-x).

[66] These phrases come from three sonnets ("Sonnet XIII Sorrow" line 7, "Sonnet XI To the Snowdrop" lines 1-2, and "Sonnet IV" lines 9-13) in Sargant's *Sonnets and Other Poems,* London,1817. In "Written at the Close of Spring," Smith similarly describes "tyrant passion and corrosive cares" as humanity's main issue, one greatly at odds with the lovely, reviving natural scene described elsewhere in the sonnet (11).

[67] In addition to Brewster, the terms "expression" and "effusion" come from Aristotle's *Poetics* and from John Henry Newman's 1829 essay on poetry, respectively.

[68] R.A.D. "Sonnet to France" (1811) repeats "I hate" (1, 9), whereas "Lines" (1799) by X.Y. (Arthur O'Connor) uses "I love" (3).

[69] At the same time, mental labor became a component of the georgic genre, as argued by Anne Wallace in "Farming on Foot: Tracking Georgic in Clare and Wordsworth."

[70] Anne Wallace and Robin Jarvis, quite differently, list the suspicion with which wanderers were regarded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Wallace notes the "legal restraint and general suspicion of all travelers" as either poor or criminal or both (535). Jarvis in *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* contrasts the spiritual error suggested by wandering; restoration could only be obtained by a walk with God (81-82).

[71] In Palgrave's *The Golden Treasury*, he distinguishes between didactic, narrative, and descriptive poems. He excludes these from his anthology in order to prioritize the lyric ("Preface" 5). Similarly, Mary Robinson's collected works were divided into sections titled ballads, narratives, and finally lyrics.

[72]Ironically, Robinson was soon forced to do an about-face; she returned to London later that same year as British troops entered the war, which led to another foray across the Channel. See Paula Byrne's *Perdita: The Life of Mary Robinson.*

[73] Brewster takes up the sonnet in his study on the lyric because it was the "central form of the courtly lyric," fusing skill, emotion, and persuasion (46)

[74] See John Henry Newman's "Poetry with Reference to Aristotle's *Poetics*" (1829) and John Stuart Mill's "What Is Poetry?" (1833).

[75] See Byrne's *Perdita: The Life of Mary Robinson.* Robinson and Tarleton had a fifteen-year affair on the heels of her relationship with the Prince Regent. Tarleton married another woman in 1798.

[76] Brewster cites Wordsworth's "effort to 'remasculinise' the lyric in *Lyrical Ballads*" as proof that, as the nineteenth century wore on, the "lyric came to be regarded as insufficiently masculine" (9). Ross's "Romantic Quest and Conquest" similarly describes Wordsworth and Byron's concern that "as the poet and the audience have become soft, so has the subject matter and the poetic forms." The solution to this softness, Ross argues, is to "attempt to bring the 'feminine' vulnerability of emotion into the realm of 'masculine' power" (35-37).

[77] Take for example "Thoughts on the Late Proceedings in France" (1793) from *The Gentleman's Magazine* that details Paine and Marat or John Turner's much later "To the Inhabitants of the British Empire" (1815) that celebrates peace "between Calais and Dover" where Napoleon will come no more.

[78] As Philip Shaw claims, after the successful end of the long French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, it was simultaneously difficult, unpopular, and dangerous to criticize Britain's reasons for and results from going to war.

[79] See Duff, *Romanticism and the Uses of Genre.*

[80] See Robin Jarvis's compelling discussion of the physiological rhythms that compel breathing, speaking, and walking in *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (83-97).

[81] In a note to her poem, "Prisoners' Evening Service" (1834), Hemans explains that the scene was in part inspired by "The last days of two prisoners…so affectingly

described by Helen Maria Williams, in her Letters from France." For more commentary on this connection, see Deborah Kennedy's *Helen Maria Williams and The Age of Revolution* (109-112).

[82] As Wallace and Jarvis note, without volunteering or choosing to wander, walking in particular and wandering in general fails to free the mind.

[83] Sargant's "Preface" to the play hints at "the many productions of the present day" that depict Joan but claims that her text was "written before the late productions, which bear the same title."

[84] Walking and seafaring are also male provinces, according to Jarvis and Baker respectively (3, 13).